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- an article by *Lois Stuart* on sexism
- an article written by a representative of the Ontario Coalition for Abortion Clinics, a mass-based women's movement, in support of the struggle for a woman's right to abortion, linking it with the whole struggle for feminism -- this article was, in fact, *proposed by Walter Stuart*
- several articles on the struggles of Native peoples -- Innu opposition to NATO flight-testing on their land, Native struggles across Canada against tuition cutbacks, and the struggles of the Lubicon for justice in their land claims
- a front-page article on the racist killings by the police of Black youth

These are only some of the articles that deal with issues of race and gender inequalities. An objective reader would admit that these articles are not filled with the notion of the pre-eminence of class over race/gender issues. The observer would have to admit that these issues are well-covered and furthermore are included in other articles containing broad analyses dealing with critiques of the Party leadership.

How can it be said that the leadership of the Left Caucus "espoused a doctrinaire view *without regard for the political philosophies of the membership?*" (Our emphasis.) It is a sinister imputation that is being made without the adducing of any evidence and, indeed, contradicted by the public record. The published articles reflect Left Caucus policy and practice going back to the Socialist Caucus of the 1960's, the Waffle of the 1969-72 period and the codified experiences and analysis in the Left Caucus Manifesto (1983) as decided by a broad, representative conference of left wingers. The Manifesto, freely available to all, states: "Our goal is a socialist Canada, a new social order based on common ownership of our resources and industry, co-operation for use and genuine democracy." Perhaps it is the class struggle perspective that you find unacceptable, as Walter Stuart once expressed in his outraged criticism of a Steering Committee member who openly identified with Marxism. We, however, do not believe that a socialist group has the right to outlaw Marxism.

In addition to a class-struggle perspective the Manifesto identifies with the struggles of women, Native people, the Quebecois, the poor and non-whites. The tradition of the organized left within the NDP has always been to intervene actively in the struggle and to reach out to the mass movements. If that makes us guilty of "pontificating and proselytizing" we accept the verdict. If your expectation of a "Ginger group" was the notion of a kind of debating society which took no responsibility for its ideas in an active way, then you were deceived by your own opinions which ignored the real, and we might add, proud traditions of the Left Caucus.

Where does the theory of a "control group" come from? Aside from the slanderous gossip of "establishment" friends, you are no doubt referring to the selection of articles by the Editorial Committee. This problem first surfaced in regard to an article by Esther Bissoon on sexual harassment. It is true that the editors, Gord Doctorow and Harry Kopyto, rejected the article. However, it is always wise to consider the

facts. The article that was to be written was decided in a full meeting of the Steering Committee. It was decided that it would be written principally by Diane Meaghan with assistance from Esther Bissoon. There was also a certain length allocation given to it, less than a full Newsletter page.

Here is what actually happened. Esther Bissoon wrote the article by herself. The first version *rejected the NDP* describing it as an anti-feminist party. Diane Meaghan called Gord Doctorow to express her dismay and asked his advice. This resulted in a rewriting of the article. It was approximately 3 to 4 times the allocated length. It was a vitriolic tirade against men. It rejected the notion that women's oppression was a class issue and even argued that male management were more benign to women than male co-workers. Diane Meaghan abrogated her responsibility for producing a collaborative article consistent with the Left Caucus's support for the NDP. Instead, she ignored the content of Esther Bissoon's article and inexplicably wrote an introduction to the article which argued that the issue of gender oppression had to be integrated with a class analysis, a view directly at odds with the line of Esther Bissoon's article.

This article and the introduction were written with little regard for the priorities and limited resources of the Left Caucus. Diane Meaghan's unprincipled actions point to what had since then become a growing tendency -- the development of a factional clique in which political differences were buried in order to fight against the Left Caucus leadership.

It appears that you have allowed yourselves to be a part of, or perhaps used by, this group for some time. Although you have had articles published that you demanded, you still accuse us of being undemocratic and not allowing other opinions to surface in the Newsletter. It is ironic that Walter Stuart had come to the July editorial committee meeting bristling with indignation at the prospect that an article on abortion choice might be rejected. It was readily accepted and Walter Stuart made it plain that it did not matter to him that he be the author of the article. He accepted the suggestion of getting a feminist activist like Judy Rebick to write the article. The editors made several attempts to get her, and, finally, on her advice, got a leading activist in OCAC to write it, thus helping to cement our relationship with an important women's group outside the NDP. Even more ironic is Diane Meaghan's continued hostility to the publication of articles on abortion. Walter Stuart's indignation would have been more accurately aimed at Diane Meaghan; but no, somehow the two of them found common cause against the "undemocratic" Left Caucus leadership. We do not understand how such political differences get settled among you, but we prefer to put our politics up front and to defend them in a principled way.

But that still leaves the question of Walter Stuart's complaint about the Left Caucus "control group" taking over the Newsletter writing and production while leaving the clerical tasks to the "dopes". At the July, 1989 editorial board meeting, which was well advertised to Steering Committee members, everyone was able to submit their proposals for articles. A big discussion ensued, and, by mutual consent, assignments for articles were made in conformity with the agreed upon policy of the previous Steering Committee meeting. No one at the meeting requested that a further meeting be held to edit the articles before the full Steering Committee. The editors set about their task of soliciting articles, talking to the writers, and setting deadlines.

An opportunity for other Steering Committee members to have their say occurred in October. A Steering Committee meeting was held in early October in regard to establish links with the Alberta Left Caucus. None of the five of you who have now resigned bothered to show up either to participate in the political decisions of a key phase of the Left Caucus nor to use the opportunity to suggest that a full editorial committee meeting take place. None of you demanded or even suggested that another editorial committee meeting take place even though the Federal Convention was drawing close.

Surely, any responsible member of a leading body like the Left Caucus Steering Committee is aware of the importance of having a Newsletter for an important meeting like the Federal Convention. Otherwise, why should the Left Caucus exist? The so-called "end-run" that Walter Stuart refers to is the result of his and other members' negligence as much as our own failure to look up from the pressures of overwhelming work and not making certain that the Newsletter's content was approved once again. We, on reflection, have concluded that even when full agreement on Newsletter lineups appears to be the case that fuller discussions are necessary in order to develop mutual confidence and to clarify political positions in an educational manner. This self-criticism, however, does not absolve you of your blame.

When Walter Stuart talks about doing clerical work, while the "control group" manipulates the politics of the Left Caucus, he, like the other four of you accepts no responsibility for his own failure. It is interesting to note that the overwhelming burden of financing and distributing the Newsletter has been shouldered by the people accused of being the "control group". This is true despite the fact that Walter Stuart and Manfred Netzel had set out a fund-raising project to raise \$10,000 and then abandoned it. Perhaps typical of the co-resigners is Diane Meaghan's frank admission at the November 1989 Steering Committee meeting that she has consciously not contributed organisationally or financially to the Left Caucus for the last year; neither has Esther Bissoon. Yet they approved the fund-raising proposal.

This abstention from shouldering responsibility has not been confined to money, however. Although you hector us about adherence to fighting for feminism and against racism, it has been almost exclusively Harry Kopyto, Gord Doctorow, and Lois Bedard who have been to demonstrations on abortion choice or in support of Wade Lawson with Left Caucus Newsletters and our banner. The others of you have been conspicuous by your absence leaving all this "clerical work" to the "control group". And when volunteers were solicited for the political task of answering letters to the Left Caucus, all of you preferred to leave it to the co-chairs. It is rather shameful that our accusers challenge us in such a hypocritical fashion.

Your quitting does not increase our burden nor weaken our base. We will, however, be relieved of the unremitting clique factionalism which has inhibited the Left Caucus's development over the last year and a half. We maintain our socialist orientation to the NDP, which is the political expression of the labor movement and which reflects all the other movements for social change. As active New Democrats, we will continue to build on our socialist analysis, which separates the aspirations of the rank-and-file of the Party from those of the Party establishment. We will continue to welcome all shades of socialist opinion and not discriminate against them if they claim to be some variety of Marxists or are not approved by the Party

brass.

We will build on the modest successes we have achieved over this last year: resolutions to the NDP convention, links with the Alberta Left Caucus, the production of a common Alberta-Ontario Left Caucus statement to the NDP convention, a public meeting before the convention which attracted some new people and provided a forum for many different ideas, etc. We agree with Marx's view: "The philosophers have analyzed history, the point is to change it." The future lies in building a socialist alternative in the mass labor party of Canada. We will continue to struggle for that perspective because the problems of humanity are truly urgent requiring an active socialist response.

Yours in the struggle for socialist principles,

Gord Doctorow
Lois Bedard
Harry Kopyto

February 6, 1990

To Diane

Your resignation is, of course, no surprise to us. This formal act, fortunately closes a very sorry chapter in the history of the Left Caucus, one characterized by an unremitting and festering hostility to the Left Caucus Steering Committee by a factional clique. Even your method of resignation, both cavalier and cliquist, was the last stroke of vindictive hostility. Your contempt for the Steering Committee was shown by the way the five co-resigners secretly planned and carried out an orchestrated joint resignation.

Sincere and principled socialists would have exhibited the integrity of initiating a formal discussion or notice before the whole Steering Committee, an action which would be considered normal for responsible people in any organization. Yet this action was certainly less bizarre and ridiculous than when you indicated your intention to resign at the November 1989 Steering Committee meeting. We were amazed that you persisted in moving a motion on the functioning of the Newsletter committee after declaring your intention to resign and admitting that for the last year you had consciously contributed nothing financially or organizationally to the Left Caucus. Incredibly, you did not bother to mention your resignation in the detailed minutes that you sent out. Your resignation became known to Steering Committee members after the January 1990 Steering Committee meeting, which none of the five of you attended.

However, these unusual and unacceptable practices were typical of the way that you and the other four have been operating for some time. For example, until your tenure as Secretary, minutes were never written in the form of precis, quotes, and paraphrases of Steering Committee discussions. Indeed, this practice is alien to NDP and trade union organizations, where simple recordings of motions and reports are the norm. The net effect of such minute-taking was to foster an atmosphere of rancor and rekindled hostility. Instead of attempting to cool off the acrimony in favor of opening civil relations for fruitful political discussion, you and your co-resigners were content to inflame the situation on a continual basis.

For over a year, the Steering Committee has been subverted by factional infighting in which you and the other co-resigners had obviously held your own secret discussions and presented yourselves as a voting bloc. It is ironic that you now accuse the co-chairs and Harry Kopyto, and perhaps others, of being a clique operating as a voting bloc. The co-resigners' positions on the other hand were an unrestrained amalgam of grievances and contradictory political positions. The most flagrant example of this is that you have chosen to identify yourself with those who are uninhibited McCarthy-style Trotsky-baiters and who find no contradiction between calling themselves left-wingers while being counselled by members of the hierarchy of the Party establishment.

You make a number of accusations of undemocratic practices and accuse us, the "vanguard", of having a "hidden agenda" that places class politics before race and gender, even marginalizing these latter issues. For the record, we will take up your criticisms and respond with the facts.

Is it true that the Left Caucus ignored or downplayed issues of race and gender? You speak of these as "principled issues demonstrating commitment in praxis to a feminist and non-racist agenda in the work of the Left Caucus." You mention how you were "politically embarrassed that the newsletter has never taken a strong and united front (sic) on racism considering that the Left Caucus prides itself on aligning the left with mass movements and the labour movement, both of which appear to me to be more progressive on these matters than the Left Caucus." At the November 1989 Steering Committee meeting, you had raised similar objections. In the minutes of that meeting, you even recorded Lois Bedard's reply in which she corrected your erroneous account of Newsletter coverage. For the record, we repeat the facts, which are a matter of public record. Since the time of the 1988-89 Steering Committee, the Newsletter has consistently carried women's and race issues, linking them with issues of class where appropriate. Consider the following catalogue of Newsletter articles:

- an analysis of the Meech Lake Accord which rejected the Accord on grounds of unfairness to women and Native peoples
- a major article reporting speeches made at the 1989 Left Caucus Conference on the struggles for childcare, abortion, pay equity and women's safety in the context of town planning
- an article by *Lois Stuart* on sexism
- an article written by a representative of the Ontario Coalition for Abortion Clinics, a mass-based women's movement, in support of the struggle for a woman's right to abortion, linking it with the whole struggle for feminism -- this article was, in fact, *proposed by Walter Stuart*
- several articles on the struggles of Native peoples -- Innu opposition to NATO flight-testing on their land, Native struggles across Canada against tuition cutbacks, and the struggles of the Lubicon for justice in their land claims
- a *front-page* article on the racist killings by the police of Black youth which takes a clear and unambiguous anti-racist position

These are only some of the articles that deal with issues of race and gender inequalities. An objective reader would admit that these articles are not filled with the notion of the pre-eminence of class over race/gender issues. The observer would have to admit that these issues are well-covered and furthermore are included in other articles containing broad analyses dealing with critiques of the Party leadership.

Still you persist in repeating false charges, undeterred by numerous corrections on our part or by a simple review of the Newsletters you have in your possession. As for the question of praxis, i.e. the critical reflection of political theory through active intervention in political movements, we reply that the very people you accuse of lacking it have manifested it far more than any of the co-resigners. Gord Doctorow, Harry Kopyto, and Lois Bedard were the ones who attended the rallies in support of Wade Lawson and other victimized Black people as well as a number of pro-Choice rallies and women's conferences. At various times, we brought the Left Caucus banner and literature without the benefit of the presence or assistance of any of the five co-resigners. Your demands for praxis appear to be sterile and insincere in light of this record.

But even from the point of view of discussion of feminist issues, your criticisms

lack credibility. For example, you accuse us of the "class first" position in one sentence and then attack us for centring "our attention on the abortion issue" in the next. This non sequitur can only be explained by the fact that we seriously differ with you on a strategic political orientation to the feminist struggle. We do not apologize for having a clear, socialist class position on feminism. And we are not guilty of vulgar reductionism.

We interpret our politics in terms of linking up socialism with the mass movements. Unlike you, and very much in concert with the leading feminist activists around the world, we believe that abortion is the central issue around which women are mobilizing. The struggle against restrictive legislation and the powerful example of Chantal Daigle's legal challenge last summer have fuelled a resurgence of the women's movement. Furthermore, this example like many others, have cast a light on how lack of control by a woman of her body feeds into sexual harassment and inequality on class lines (in terms of access to safe abortion facilities). From the point of view of socialists addressing themselves to the intersection of class and gender issues, we point out that over years of struggle the trade union movement has come out behind the pro-choice position as well as the NDP.

We conclude that your rhetoric about integrating ourselves with gender issues in a serious way lacks political understanding, i.e. the realpolitik you claim you are striving for. The "impasse" rests with you. In fact, you have chosen to use your differences on the choice issue as a battering ram against the Left Caucus. You did this in your continual, although completely unjustified, criticisms of the Newsletter's coverage of feminist issues. You did this when you attacked us for having a representative from an external women's group, OCAC, writing the Convention issue's article on choice. When you discovered that it was Walter Stuart who had proposed the article in the first place, you shifted your criticism to suggesting that Walter Stuart should have written the article. You were totally unamenable to discussing the merit of making such a connection with feminists outside the NDP because the object of your criticism was to paper over your difference with Walter Stuart in order to attack the Newsletter editors. That smacks of unprincipled (and unbridled) clique factionalism.

We consider that your political approach to feminism is academic and abstract. For example, you had suggested that the Convention issue of the Newsletter have an article on pornography. Nobody at the July 1989 Newsletter planning meeting, including Walter Stuart, considered this as a serious proposal. Its relevance in the context of the current struggles and debates within the NDP demonstrate your lack of understanding of where the struggle is at.

We are incredulous about your accusation that "members of the Steering Committee believe that feminism is a bourgeois ideology." For the record, we state that it cannot be reduced to either a bourgeois or socialist ideology because feminism cuts across class lines. Historically, women of all classes have to a greater or lesser degree suffered oppression in all class societies. Feminism is a struggle for democracy, for the equal treatment that capitalism espouses but in practice denies. We are also aware that in the so-called socialist countries they too have not brought about the equality of women any more than they have brought about the rule of the working class or socialist democracy. Perhaps the example of the Ceausescu

regime in Romania exemplifies this in the way in which it forced women into compulsory motherhood through its anti-birth control tyranny and its ban on abortions. (Incidentally, doesn't this example say something about the political pre-eminence of the pro-choice struggle?)

These views are openly held by Steering Committee members and are well known. We can only conclude that your accusation stems from such a profound alienation from your "comrades" that you have ceased to hear what their real positions are. Doubtless this explains why you and your co-resigners have not been able to find worthwhile dialogue and debate.

In fact, we bent over backwards to listen to your point of view during the last period of the 1987-88 Steering Committee. Contrary to your assertion on page 4 of your letter that your suggestion to hold a discussion of feminism from a theoretical perspective was "not put back on the agenda of unfinished business", we did agree to hold such a discussion. You yourself presented a prepared educational on the interrelationship between feminism and class and race. The meeting was held at your house and was attended by ourselves, a few others, and not one of the other co-resigners from the Steering Committee. At that educational, we recall, you even conceded the primacy of class. We point out that your false portrayal of this situation is echoed in other charges you make in your letter as well.

However, there are in fact some serious real political differences that exist that you have not dealt with. We will illustrate them with examples that show how you have persistently taken positions that are abstracted from the real struggle and even tend to the conformist positions of the leadership of the NDP. In a discussion that took place during the time of the 1987-88 Steering Committee, you argued that while the NDP could be said to be a socialist party it was not a feminist party. This was in response to a proposal that Gord Doctorow put forward that we should advocate that the NDP be a labor party, socialist party, feminist party, anti-war party, etc. Your response demonstrates a serious misunderstanding about the nature of socialism. If the party were socialist, then why would the Left Caucus be necessary? What merit would the criticisms stated in the Newsletter have? What is socialist about a mixed economy approach, the expulsion of the Waffle, strike breaking by NDP governments, the Party leadership's backing off on our anti-NATO/NORAD policies and from our policies on public ownership?

This same misconception came about in relation to the article on the roots of the crisis within the NDP in the Convention issue of the Newsletter. The author, Bill Clinton, traced historically the betrayals of socialism by the CCF/NDP leaderships against the membership. You stated at the November 1989 Steering Committee meeting that you opposed this article without stating the reasons why (an unfortunate tendency you have demonstrated in other discussions, resulting in acrimony without any political clarity). Since the line of the article is to draw a line between the opportunism of the leadership and the radical aspirations of the rank-and-file of the Party, we conclude that you consider that the leadership is a sacred cow, as in the case Tommy Douglas for example, and that there is no differentiation to be made.

In yet another instance, your fuzzy attitude towards socialism was manifested when you acted as Anton Kuerti's nominator for the NDP candidate in Don Valley North

during the last federal election. You offered a milquetoast rejoinder to free trade by pronouncing yourself and the campaign in favor of "fair trade". You were unable to rise above the most meaningless market economy platitudes in nominating a candidate who showed himself to be far more radical in his election platform. You did not call for the socialist alternative nor mention feminism -- just "fair trade"!

Your confusion about socialist economic policy also revealed itself in an article assigned to you that you refer to in your letter. This article was on the topic of the 1987 Stock Market crash. You finished off your article with a sentence identifying with "market socialism". This concept was never discussed in the editorial committee meetings. It suggests that "market socialism" rather than workers' self-management (socialist democracy) would be the antidote to the Stalinist hyper-centralized economies. In fact, it is precisely "market socialism" which was tried in China, Hungary and Yugoslavia, in each case resulting in inflation and unemployment for the workers, enriching a few at the expense of the many, and a continued grip by the same bureaucrats against popular democracy. Gord Doctorow, as one of the editors, turned back the article and asked you to reconsider the ending with a view to publishing the article by itself for distribution at the Left Caucus conference. You did nothing, and then subsequently accused the editors of rejecting your article outright. In this instance, we see both confused politics and communication alienation leading to your characteristic factional hostility.

Another instance of your political confusion is in relation to the Quebec national question. While you believe in affirmative action for visible minorities, women, and the disabled, you seem unable to apply the same principle to the Quebecois who have a history of centuries of oppression. Your comment, at an Oriole NDP executive meeting stating that the Quebecois "want it both ways" has the ring of a cynical reaction to a group striving to defend their culture and redress their historic grievances. It echoes the mean-spirited attitude that reactionary and bigoted anglophones have always held towards the Quebecois. Despite the principled left's traditional support for recognition of the right of self-determination of the Quebec nation and the fact that the Left Caucus resolutions sub-committee drew up a resolution solidarizing with this notion and circulated it to Left Caucus members, when the resolution was put before the Don Valley North general meeting you spoke and voted against it. One would have, at the minimum, expected some discussion of these differences in the Left Caucus Steering Committee during the months-long period between the circulation of the resolution and its placement before riding associations.

It is difficult for us to reconcile your avowed position of seeing no hierarchy of priorities in the class-race-gender issues with your choice of leadership candidate at the federal convention. We refer, of course, to your campaigning for Howard McCurdy simply on the basis of his being a Black candidate. The fact that he maintained a policy of restrictive legislation on abortions in his literature and that he advocated the most right-wing economic program of the candidates seeking the leadership did not deter you from supporting him. Not only did he argue from the position of economic competition in the international market (what does this mean about preserving the environment?) in an echo of Broadbent's declaration in favor of the mechanism of the market, but McCurdy also advocated the stay-in-NATO position that we collectively had fought against for so long. It appears that class and gender are lower-ranked criteria when compared to race. This attitude is nothing but

naive liberalism.

Finally, we address ourselves to your charges of manipulation of meetings and the Newsletter by an unaccountable "vanguard". You "insist upon accountability and demand that decision-making processes be placed in the widest possible circles of the Steering Committee" and you speak of how you "gave freely of my time on the Steering Committee because I was interested in an open, honest and participatory democratic process". It appears, however, that the accountability you sought was applied only to the "vanguard" and not to yourself. After all, you freely admitted at the November 1989 Steering Committee meeting that you have given no money and nothing of your time to organizing the activities of the Left Caucus. Yet you voted along with the rest of the Steering Committee for Manfred Netzel's and Walter Stuart's proposal for a \$10,000 fund-raising campaign. Your main contribution seemed to be in the area of secret and vitriolic discussions aimed against the "vanguard".

You also refer to unfair treatment in regard to an article by Esther Bissoon on sexual harassment. It is true that the editors, Gord Doctorow and Harry Kopyto, rejected the article. However, it is always wise to consider the facts. The article that was to be written was decided in a full meeting of the Steering Committee. It was decided that it would be written principally by you, Diane Meaghan, with assistance from Esther. There was also a certain length allocation given to it, less than a full Newsletter page.

Here is what actually happened. Esther wrote the article by herself. The first version *rejected the NDP* describing it as an anti-feminist party. You called Gord to express her dismay and asked his advice. This resulted in a rewriting of the article. It was approximately 3 to 4 times the allocated length. It was a vitriolic tirade against men. It rejected the notion that women's oppression was a class issue and even argued that male management were more benign to women than male co-workers. You abrogated your responsibility for producing a collaborative article consistent with the Left Caucus's support for the NDP. Instead, you ignored the content of Esther's article and inexplicably wrote an introduction to the article which argued that the issue of gender oppression had to be integrated with a class analysis, a view directly at odds with the line of Esther's article.

This article and the introduction were written with little regard for the priorities and resources of the Left Caucus. Your unprincipled actions point, once again, to what had since then become a growing tendency -- the development of a factional clique in which political differences were buried in order to fight against the Left Caucus "vanguard".

Your accusation that the "vanguard" clique quashed a democratic discussion on gender parity at the 1987 Left Caucus conference is yet another example of an attitude of provocative factionalism. Gender parity had existed in the Left Caucus for several years before this conference. We were striving to achieve it by finding enough women to run for half the available posts. Your assertion that you were attempting to establish this principle is smug and a gratuitous slander. Your complaint that the co-chairs did not allow for a big discussion of this issue ignores the reality. In fact, the co-chairs were able to guide the conference through to a situation of gender parity which has continued on. The problem has been not so

bring in new women.

Was the Left Caucus editorial committee manipulative and indifferent to different currents of thought in the Left Caucus? It is true that the editors have borne the brunt of technical and editing work. It is true that they have sacrificed many late evenings to put out the Newsletter. It is also true that more new writers have appeared in the Newsletter's pages. Our critics have shown little appetite for assisting with the hard work, not only in regard to the Newsletter, but also in regard to its circulation, to taking on sub-committee work and so on.

The resistance to putting Esther Bissoon on the Editorial Committee was engendered by her previous attitude on her sexual harassment article, by her having walked out of the Steering Committee on previous occasions, by her implacable hostility to the Editorial Committee members, and by her inactivity in the NDP, not to mention the Left Caucus. When she came onto the Editorial Committee, she and you complained that the two other editors, who had already done preparatory work in gathering newspaper clippings and discussing the next issue, had come in with ideas about how the issue should be focussed. It is as bizarre as complaining about a responsible teacher making lesson plans before coming into the class room. Preparation is not evidence of a clique, just responsibility towards serious work.

As for the convention issue of the Newsletter, we repeat that we followed the agreed consensus of the Steering Committee in planning the issue. Everyone who wanted to participate was notified in advance. The July meeting heard all submissions. Articles were agreed upon and assigned with due regard to the fact that this issue was pitched to the federal convention. The editors ensured that the articles were written and the Newsletter produced. None of the five co-resigners took it upon themselves to demand that another meeting be held. Instead, they boycotted the October meeting of the Steering Committee. We conclude that none of you considered that it was important that a Left Caucus Newsletter be prepared for the convention. We, on the other hand, completely disagree. The Newsletter has the purpose of intervening in the life of the Party and cannot be some academic journal that has no relevance to the political focus of our work.

At the heart of this dispute is a difference in conception of what role the left should play in the NDP. We consider that the NDP is a critically important arena for socialist politics in the practical sense. Your attitude is more abstract and uninformed by the realities of class politics and political movements. We will continue to intervene inside the NDP, which is the expression of independent working-class politics in Canada. We will build on the achievements the Left Caucus has been able to make in the last while: the 1983 Left Caucus Manifesto, connections with the Alberta Left Caucus, a public pre-convention Left Caucus meeting, an ONDP Provincial Council forum on the federal convention, etc. The struggle for socialism is not confined to opposition to the capitalist parties and reforms to the capitalist system, it must be waged against bourgeois influences in the NDP itself and in conjunction with the mass movements for social change. We do not seek to be an isolated tiny "vanguard" but rather participants in the big struggles in the arena of class politics. Our work in the Left Caucus and adherence to the NDP is unconditional. We won't abandon our role in a fit of pique. Our approach is sober

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and mature. Now that you have exited, the internal warfare can stop and we will be able to concentrate on valuable work.

Yours in the struggle for socialism,

Gord Doctorow
Lois Bedard
Harry Kopyto

February 6, 1990

Dear Manfred,

We were truly astounded and deeply disappointed to receive your notice of resignation from the Left Caucus Steering Committee without prior notice or discussion of the matter before the Steering Committee. How difficult it is for us to accept that you chose to do all the discussing and decision-making in a select group of five in secret.

We had not anticipated, after a long collaborative political relationship, that you would associate your resignation with the very group who have been the source of embarrassment and counter-productive attacks within the Steering Committee that you mention within your statement. How is it possible that you have allowed your name to be associated with Trotsky-baiters who find themselves at home with the Party establishment and with two others who are by and large inactive in the NDP and who have contributed nothing, financially or organizationally, to the Left Caucus Steering Committee? Diane Meaghan, for instance, made a frank admission at the November 1989 Steering Committee Meeting that she had deliberately given nothing to the organization for the last year. Surely as the Left Caucus Treasurer over the last two years, you must have been aware of this. (Somehow she managed to omit this item from her usual copious minutes of the meeting.)

Instead these four co-resigners have persistently turned the organization inward with unfounded allegations based on anti-Marxist prejudice or personal animosities. As you can see in the accompanying replies to some of these individuals, we effectively refute their provocative and distorted allegations of manipulation and ignoring of gender/race issues. On the other hand, whenever the Steering Committee has moved outward to expand our connections, none of you have been present. We refer, of course, to the meetings on coordinating with the Alberta Left Caucus and the pre-Convention meeting we held at Queen's Park. As a result of these meetings, new people have started to come around the Left Caucus and our Newsletter has received an impressive circulation among New Democrats across the country.

Of the five of you, only you participated in the drawing up of resolutions for the Convention. The Quebec resolution was an important contribution to the discussion among left-wingers at the Convention. Diane Meaghan alone among Ontario Left Caucus supporters opposed the concept of Quebec's right to self-determination. Apparently she extends that privilege only to women and people of color. We find it difficult to understand why you would want to associate with people whose politics are so confused and conservative.

We are also puzzled by your references to fiscal irresponsibility on our part. You were part of a committee (which included Walter Stuart) which proposed a 2-year fund-raising goal of \$10,000. The fund-raising that has been done has been carried out Steering Committee members and supporters other than any of the co-resigners. Your committee did nothing to implement the fund-raising proposal that all Steering Committee members had voted for. Indeed, as far as we can tell, at least two of the group of five, Diane Meaghan and Esther Bissoon consciously and deliberately contributed nothing financially. This is sheer hypocrisy and deception. That they are

not embarrassed says something about their integrity. But the fact that you are associated with them while in the position of Treasurer must be a source of discomfort to you. Moreover, your fund-raising committee's utter failure to do any fund-raising calls your criticisms of the Steering Committee's spending into question.

Of course, putting out the Newsletter is not merely a financial matter as you imply but first and foremost a political question. The Left Caucus cannot hope to have any claim to legitimacy if it does not circulate its own press especially at a time when there is no other communication vehicle within the ONDP. Without the Newsletter we would have been even more insular and isolated. The Newsletter allowed us to bring the socialist alternative to thousands of NDP activists.

It appears to us that our financial difficulties did not follow from the political decisions that were made and certainly not with the very individuals who have been providing the funding for our activities. It lay with an inert, inward-turning attitude that was seizing the Left Caucus. The sources of this attitude have now bowed off the historical stage. Your job as Treasurer was hampered by lack of energy and commitment.

In light of your honorable record as a left-wing activist and teacher-activist, we are disheartened that you chose to resign in association with an unprincipled group of factionalists. It is our sincere hope that you will reconsider your actions and find your way back to support the Left Caucus in the struggle to win the NDP to socialism.

Sincerely,

Gord Doctorow
Lois Bedard
Harry Kopyto

The ONDP Left Caucus invites you to a

Valentine's Social

on Saturday, February 17, 1990
at 8:00 p.m.



Place: 211 Dunvegan Road (near
the Davisville subway stop)

Light snacks
Refreshments
Music
Comeraderie

*\$10 admission
\$5 for underemployed*

NEXT ONDP LEFT CAUCUS FORUM:

Socialist Economic Alternatives *a round-table discussion*

Sunday, March 4
2:00 p.m. - 6:00 p.m.

Location to be announced

ONDp Left Caucus public forum

a grouping of individuals within the Ontario Left Caucus. As such, we are committed to the NDP as the most arena of struggle for the working class in the New Democratic Party. We are committed to the NDP as the most arena of struggle for the working class in the New Democratic Party. We are committed to the NDP as the most arena of struggle for the working class in the New Democratic Party. We are committed to the NDP as the most arena of struggle for the working class in the New Democratic Party.

Socialist Economic Alternatives

a round-table discussion to evaluate policies for the NDP

This forum will invite active participation by those attending. A panel will lead off the discussion with some prepared ideas and proposals. Then the discussion will turn to the audience for the posing of questions and consideration of various points of view. The purpose of the forum is to provide socialist education and equip left-wing activists to participate in the ongoing debates within the Ontario NDP.

**Sunday, March 4
2:00 p.m. - 6:00 p.m.**

**Location: Bickford Park School
777 Bloor Street West (near Christie subway)
in the Cafeteria**

For further information call: Gord Doctorow 497-8039
Lois Bedard 961-4554
Harry Kopyto 322-1664

The ONDP Left Caucus invites you to a

March 17 St. Patrick's Day Party

A socialist gathering to celebrate the socialist-Irish tradition

PRIZES, GREEN BEER, MUSIC & POETRY

*Saturday at 8:00 p.m.
211 Dunvegan Road*

(6 north of St. Clair, 2 west of Avenue Road -- near Davisville subway)

(Found in 1990)

The ONDP Left Caucus

We are a grouping of socialists within the New Democratic Party. We are committed to the NDP as the mass arena of labor politics in Canada. As stated in the 1983 Manifesto of the Ontario Left Caucus:

"The NDP, like the CCF before it, is itself the creation and inheritance of the struggles of successive generations of workers and farmers, who realized that their aspirations for a humane society could never be met within the framework of a capitalist Canada. In contrast to the Liberals and Conservatives who are the parties of the major corporations and vested interests, the NDP remains the party of working people and their allies.

"Our goal is a socialist Canada, a new social order based on common ownership of our resources and industry, co-operation, production for use and genuine democracy. Only socialism can turn the boundless potential of our people and resources to the creation of a world free from tyranny, greed, poverty and exploitation."

We stand for feminism, the rights of Native peoples, self-determination for the Quebecois, defence of the environment against the ravages of pollution for profit, disarming the capitalist warmakers, and solidarity with the anti-imperialist struggles of the peoples of the underdeveloped world.

The Left Caucus presents the socialist alternatives within the NDP against tendencies to dilute our principles. For example, we have consistently fought for the out of NATO, out of NORAD positions adopted at Party conventions and for opposition to full funding of Separate Schools.

The Left Caucus holds forums and organizes campaigns within the NDP. We publish a socialist Newsletter with information and analysis to provide a vehicle for discussion and political education. We strive to build links with the mass movements for social change.

The Left Caucus is open to NDP members who are interested in participating in the struggle for a socialist Canada.

Left Caucus Newsletter

ONDP Left Caucus
Station M, Box 107
Toronto, Ontario M6S 4T2

Add my address to the Left Caucus Newsletter mailing list. I enclose a contribution to help finance and circulate the Newsletter for which I will receive the next several issues at the attached address. (Please send at least \$10 as this is a minimal amount necessary to meet our expenses. We really require greater amounts to allow us to increase our periodicity and meet inflationary expenses.) Please print.

Name _____

Street Address _____

City/Town _____ Province _____ Postal Code _____

Why not take this opportunity to get a gift subscription for a friend? Just add another \$10 or more and mail in an additional address.

Name _____

Street Address _____

City/Town _____ Province _____ Postal Code _____

Apr. 30, 1990

Dear Harry, (P. Winnipeg)

Doctor

I read your letter out to the comrades of the Forward Group a few weeks ago. Much of what I have to say is our collective considered opinion. Sorry for the delay in responding, but I wanted to consult first and I was delayed by a lot of time-consuming pressures.

First, we are all enthusiastic about the idea of Mitch running for the NDP. We completely agree with you about the importance of his doing this. The NDP remains the focus of class politics; in fact, the centre of it. The trade union movement is not leading any mass actions, although it is involved in the anti-GST campaign. The labor movement is facing the pressures of growing unemployment and recession, along with the loss of jobs due to the Free Trade Agreement. The federal government's cutbacks have made the Tories unpopular, but that hasn't translated into serious political struggles through the workers' organizations as yet. The NDP still remains the most important expression of class politics.

The NDP must inevitably reflect a lot of the ongoing struggles: choice on abortion, Native rights, anti-cutbacks, opposition to the GST, the struggle against NATO low-flight testing in the Innu lands in Labrador, and the fight to save the environment. These challenges offer the NDP a base for its natural constituencies. The Left needs to pose what we posed in the NDP Antiwar Committee: active links between the Party and these movements. After all, that was the promise of the McLaughlin leadership campaign. Despite the events in Central Europe and the Soviet areas, the Canadian people have yet to reject the principle of public ownership or of state intervention to guarantee social security and rights.

You are right when you chastise elements of the left for focussing all their attention on Latin America. The Latin American struggle is bound by the processes of the Permanent Revolution. Socialism cannot be built in small countries like Nicaragua and El Salvador when they are up against the mighty forces of U.S. imperialism and the rotten compromises that the Soviet bureaucracy makes with this same imperialism. Imagine that so many elements of the left looked to these poor little countries to make the revolution for them and ignored the importance of building a workers' counterweight to imperialism right at home. An NDP government in Canada would do a lot more good than all the fund-raising and demonstrations for Latin American solidarity. The harder task is to upset capitalism's apple-cart. The effective linkages made between the NDP and the anti-imperialist struggles were well illustrated by having spokespersons from the Sandinistas and FMLN of El Salvador addressing and receiving the solidarity of NDP conventions. Furthermore, the visits to these areas by Dan Heap and Richard Johnston have helped to link the labor movement here with the struggles there.

We believe our approach should be to involve solidarity activists in the NDP. The Left Caucus needs to push this orientation forward within the NDP and among socialists outside the Party.

As to the question of our own role in the Left Caucus, it is debatable to suggest that we are isolated. There is some truth in that statement, largely, as you say, due to the objective conditions. However, we find that we get a friendly hearing at Council meetings and conventions. Our forces suffered somewhat at the federal NDP convention because of the leadership contest, which, to some degree, undermined our ability to intervene programatically. But we achieved some gains: we established a connection with the Alberta Left Caucus, we produced a Newsletter and a common statement. We sustained our presence inside the Party, and the leadership contest had its share of left posturing and rhetoric from leadership candidates, obviously attempting to appeal to a left sentiment within the Party. We shouldn't forget that Langdon, who came in third, made a radical appeal. Ultimately, the choice of Audrey McLaughlin was a choice for moving the Party more in the direction of a grassroots movement. She embodies the positive spirit of feminism and openness, even if she is somewhat muddled from the point of view of socialist ideas.

There is no comfort in being inside the NDP in an entry *sui generis*. It brings its own dangers. The low level of politics and the pressures towards conformity are ever-present. We are doing the disciplined work that is being neglected by the whole left who are busy cheering on revolutions in poor countries everywhere else in the world. The independent movements are important and will continue to play a role, but we are ill-positioned to move in a big way into the Native movement or even the women's movement. We have good relations with activists in the women's groups. But they are increasingly becoming dominated by anarchists whose mindless militancy tends to narrow the appeal of groups like OCAC. The trade unions do not offer our meagre forces great promise for implantation or recruitment.

We have tried to move out on the issues surrounding the upheavals in the workers' states. We initiated, through the Forward Group, a proposal for a joint forum of the Marxist left to discuss these events. We approached the IS, Socialist Action, the Bolshevik Tendency, the Trotskyist League, the CP, the Communist League (RWL), the CP Youth, various CP front organizations, the Marxist Institute, etc. We even proposed adding the anarchists to the speakers' platform. After several weeks of meetings and discussions, we finally got the CP to attend, but they decided against participating in the end. So we are having to reassess our project. Our idea was to throw the discussion wide open and to have the widest possible participation. We wanted to project the idea of a common stake in reclaiming the legitimacy of Marxist ideas and Marxist language. We had intended to circulate our own statement on the meaning and history of the political upheavals in the workers' states, emphasizing the concept of workers' control and a planned socialist economy. We felt that this forum could be the first step towards some further discussions and collaborative projects. It is clear from this experience that a broadly based Marxist theoretical journal is not on the immediate agenda.

We will continue to write the Left Caucus Newsletter and circulate *International Viewpoint*. By the way, you should subscribe to it in order to lessen your sense of isolation. A one-year subscription costs \$47 (U.S.) payable to PEC, with the mailing address: International Viewpoint, 2 rue Richard Lenoir, 93108 Montreuil, France. This year's coverage alone is worth getting it. Mandel has written an excellent article on the future of Marxism in one of the February or March issues.

I am enclosing, for your information, a photocopy of analytical articles on Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union that appeared in the March issue of the San Francisco-based Socialist Action comrades.

Finally, I am enclosing two articles on Harry Kopyto -- one by a left-wing lawyer Eric Del Junco defending Harry against the sectarians in the Law Union and another by the lawyer who dissented against the majority decision by the Law Society of Upper Canada to disbar Harry. By the way, you should know that Legal Aid has blocked payment of a year and a half's fees owing to Harry. He has been kicked out of his office owing to pressures placed on his landlord by the Law Society. He has had to re-mortgage his house at a very high interest rate and must sell it to salvage his financial situation.

That is all for now. Please keep in touch and give our best regards to Mitch. Tell him we are all behind him running. It will be a salutary experience that will allow him the opportunity to put forward a genuine socialist program.

Warmest regards,

Gord Doctorow

P.S. Ron Dixon is planning to be the NDP candidate in Vander Zalm's riding. Tell that to Mitch. It might inspire him.

ALBERTA NDP LEFT CAUCUS

**Formed to Advance
the principles of
Socialism,
Democracy, and
Feminism
within the
New Democratic Party**

Statement of Unity

The Left Caucus of the Alberta New Democrats is formed to advance the principles of socialism, democracy and feminism within the New Democratic Party.

We recognize that members are the party. Therefore the party must strengthen its commitment to open grassroots participation in all aspects of the party and to leadership and caucus accountability to the democratically decided policies of the party. An activist party must continually educate both its own members and the public and participate in the struggles of progressive social movements.

As democratic socialists and feminists, we are committed to peace, protection of the environment, support for human rights everywhere, political pluralism, solidarity with popular struggles worldwide and self determination for all peoples including Quebec and the native peoples of Canada. We support the struggles of labour, farmers, women and oppressed minorities including ethnic and visible minorities, lesbians and gays, youth and the elderly, the unemployed and the differently abled.

We believe that these objectives cannot be achieved within the confines of the capitalist system. A socialist society characterized by social ownership and workers control of the means of production, full democratization of the workplace and other institutions and full political democracy is fundamental to the achievement of our objectives.

Why a Left Caucus?

The New Democratic Party today is under the direction of leaders seeking electoral office almost at any costs. As members, we are asked to sacrifice socialist principles and democratic practice. At the same time, the Party has failed to respond to the challenge of the labour, women's, peace, lesbian and gay, and environmental movements. Our leaders ask us to trust them but they don't trust our policies to get them elected.

The 1988 Federal Election brought these trends into sharp relief. We lost the election because a small Ottawa/Toronto clique made all the major decisions about election strategy. We lost because back-room bureaucrats decided to contest the election on the empty phrases of "openness," "fairness," and "ordinary Canadians." These phrases in no way distinguished our party from the Liberals, the other party "big business" turns to when they aren't backing the Tories.

The NDP did not come up with a programme of action to address the concrete needs and demands of working people; not only on free trade but the whole Tory/corporate agenda of attacks on trade unions, women, social programs, and the environment. The Party downplayed its links to organized labour to curry favour with those who oppose unions. By refusing to campaign on the key issues of the day -- NATO withdrawal, women's liberation, free trade, the environment, and the assault on the working class through deregulation and privatization -- our Party gave Canadian working people little reason to support us, and some even backed "strategic voting" for promising Liberal candidates.

As democratic socialists and feminists, we in Alberta felt it was time to reaffirm our party traditions and to start to formulate policies for the nineties. It was time to organize.

How We Started Out

In December 1988, at the first provincial Party convention following the federal election, we issued a call for the formation of a left caucus. About 10 per cent of convention delegates responded to the caucus call.

As with most conventions, that caucus did not have time to discuss a programme or formulate a plan of action, beyond supporting a few resolutions on the convention floor. But the caucus delegates did want to continue operating after convention, so we agreed to elect an ongoing steering committee. They would organize a provincial conference to formally establish a ongoing Alberta NDP Left Caucus.

The Steering Committee published a newsletter, collected membership dues, and planned the conference that was held June 16-18, 1989 in Edmonton.

A Political Agenda for Socialists

The first conference of the Alberta Left Caucus was appropriately called "A Political Agenda for Socialists." It was an exciting beginning for an ongoing left for the Party in Alberta. Sixty participants, mostly from urban areas like Calgary, Edmonton, and Lethbridge, showed up. We divided our time between policy discussions and sessions devoted to

formulating a basis for unity for the Alberta left within the Party.

Central questions facing the Canadian left that were covered included Party democracy and accountability, restructuring the global economy, and Meech Lake. BC MP Svend Robinson and long-time Alberta socialist Betty Mardiros were among the main speakers.

An extensive debate was held to formulate a basis of unity which was adopted at our conference by a unanimous vote (this statement appears on the back of this brochure). We also managed to choose a new Steering Committee made up of volunteers from those attending the founding meeting.

Continuing the Work

We didn't stop there. The Steering Committee continues to meet regularly. The Caucus was active at the 1989 NDP Provincial Convention. Our newsletter is going out to a steadily-growing membership. We also held a general meeting to plan for the Federal Convention and discuss how to carry out joint work with others in a federal convention Left Caucus. A member of the Ontario Left Caucus was present at our deliberations.

And the Future?

Our challenge is to build a caucus with roots throughout the province. At present, the Alberta Left Caucus, much like the Party itself, is predominantly centred in Edmonton. We believe that a planned travelling speaker series will help us achieve a broader base.

Another challenge is to establish links to one of our natural allies: militants in the labour movement. In this direction, we are planning a conference, called "Labour, the Left and the NDP," for May 1990. This conference will cover issues for the left in the unions, and also, how union activists can work together with other activists in the Party to better understand each other's concerns and our common goals.

The Challenge for You

The Alberta experience has convinced us that there is a real need to organize an ongoing left current in the NDP. Meeting only at annual conventions is just not enough. As the socialist conscience of the Party, the Left must move beyond just reacting to the right's agenda, to preparing our own alternative to the leadership programme through democratic discussion and debate within the Left.

Many activists have responded to our call in Alberta. We hope those of you in the Left in other provinces might draw inspiration from our work and organize your own ongoing Left Caucuses. It will only be from such grass-roots movements that we will be able to work together in the future to shape a democratic, socialist, feminist party.

THE LEFT CAUCUS

Box 305, Sub P.O. 11, Edmonton, AB, T6G 2E0

Report of the **Left Caucus Steering Committee**

The Left Caucus was formed in response to a call for the formation of a left caucus at the New Democratic Party convention held in Edmonton December 3, 1988. Approximately 45 people, or 10 per cent of the delegates at convention attended the meeting and agreed to the formation of a left caucus. More persons joined on Sunday December 4 at a meeting organized by the campus New Democrats to assess the federal election. After both meetings, approximately 55 persons had signed the mailing list.

At convention delegates indicated that they wanted the left caucus to operate on an ongoing basis rather than just meeting at conventions. It was therefore agreed that a steering committee was necessary for organizing purposes. People volunteered for the steering committee by placing a star beside their names on the mailing list.

The disproportionate number of Edmontonians at convention made it difficult to obtain regional representation on the steering committee, although one Calgary delegate was a member. Gender equality was less of a problem, however, men outnumbered women on the committee.

The Steering Committee met 10 times. The main task undertaken by the Steering Committee was to organize the first conference of the Left Caucus called *A Political Agenda for Socialists* held in Edmonton June 16, 17 and 18, 1989. The conference was attended by 60 delegates and was addressed by speakers on topics of Democracy and Accountability in the Party, Restructuring of the Canadian Economy and Meech Lake. The theoretical discussions formed the background for the main task of the conference which was to agree on a basis of unity for the Left Caucus.

The conference also agreed that a new provincial steering committee should be formed to be composed of delegates from the conference and delegates from the next party convention. The steering committee will carry on the work of the Left Caucus between conferences and conventions.

The Left Caucus has a membership fee of \$20 regular and \$5 low income.



LEFT CAUCUS OF THE NEW DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF ALBERTA

Formed to advance
the principles of
Socialism,
Democracy, and
Feminism
within the
New Democratic Party

Box 305, Sub P.O. 11, Edmonton, Alberta T6G 2E0

THE LEFT CAUCUS OF THE ALBERTA NEW DEMOCRATIC PARTY

Left Caucus Membership:

(\$20.00/\$5.00) \$ _____

Donation: \$ _____

Name: _____

Address: _____

Postal Code: _____

Phone # _____ (h) _____ (w)

You must be a member of the New Democratic Party in order to join the Left Caucus.

Please submit this
MEMBERSHIP form
to:

The Left Caucus,
Box 305, Sub P.O. 11,
Edmonton, AB.
T6G 2E0,
Ph. 439-1955



If you are interested in attending the conference, or wish to be placed on the Conference mailing list for further information, please return this section to the Alberta Left Caucus at:

Alberta NDP Left Caucus
Box 305, Sub P.O. 11
Edmonton, Alberta
T6G 2E0

The general conference is open to members of the New Democratic Party (or affiliated organizations)

Name:

Union (if applicable):

Address:

- Yes, I am interested in attending.
Please send registration
information
- Please put me on the mailing list
for further information.



LEFT CAUCUS CONFERENCE
PRESIDENTIAL PRESENTATIONS

Labour, The Left and the NDP

Conference

May 11-13, 1990

Edmonton
Alberta

Sponsor
Alberta NDP Left Caucus

Purpose of the Conference

The conference will focus on the relationship between the labour movement (particularly organized labour), the left, and the NDP. Through presentations and debate, we hope to look at a number of important questions facing socialists active in the trade unions and in the extra-parliamentary movements.

These will include:

1. Why should the NDP speak for labour?
2. Why should labour militants be NDP activists?
3. How do we, as the Left in the Party, push the NDP towards a more direct and intimate relationship with organized labour?
4. What impact would a change in the NDP's approach have on the working class?
5. What is the agenda for militants in the labour movement to accomplish the goal of helping to build an NDP responsive to the extra-parliamentary movements?

The conference will be organized to encourage an exchange of ideas among the participants. Sessions will be arranged to provide for follow-up discussion from the floor and panels with union activists being prepared.

LEFT CAUCUS CONFERENCE TENTATIVE PRESENTATIONS

"NDP and Labour: What is and What Could Be"

"How the NDP and Labour are Linked: A Practical Introduction"

"How to Break the Log Jam: The Role of the CLC Bureaucracy in the NDP"

"Perspectives for Union Militants in Building a Democratic Labour Movement"

"The NDP and the Extra-parliamentary Opposition: Bringing it All Together"

Speaker Confirmed:^{*}

Jean-Claude Parrot
President, CUPW

^{*}(organization listed for identification purposes)

(Found in April 1990)

FOR A SOCIALIST CANADA

A Left Caucus is needed to renew the New Democratic Party on the basis of democratic, socialist, and feminist policies, including:

No Recriminalization of Abortion

The Party must stand for unrestricted reproductive choice for women, including full and equal access to abortion services. Caucus discipline must be maintained against new criminal legislation.

Withdraw from NATO and NORAD

To become a real party for peace requires an unequivocal policy of withdrawal from military alliances. An independent foreign policy must be based on unilateral disarmament and an end to complicity with imperialist intervention in Central America and around the world.

For a Truly Democratic Party with an Accountable Leadership

Federal Caucus must be accountable to Convention policy decisions. The leadership should educate the members in Party policy, and Federal Executive should launch a national Party newspaper to this end.

Defend Quebec's Right to Self-Determination

Build a genuinely federal party through a commitment to Quebec's national rights, including defense of the French language and culture in Quebec. Support their right to create institutions of self-government and control of their own political and economic destinies.

For a Feminist NDP

The NDP should be active in struggles for pay equity, universal quality childcare, affirmative action and against sexual harassment. Structures must be put in place to achieve gender parity in Caucus and in leadership bodies.

Expand Public Ownership; Stop Privatization; Fight Unemployment

Support extra-parliamentary coalitions with unions and women's organization against the privatization of basic public services like Canada Post and VIA Rail. Expand the public sector and legislate the shorter work week, to create secure jobs and reverse the trend under the Free Trade Agreement towards cheap unorganized part-time labour.

Strengthen Ties With Labour

Founded as the political expression of the union movement, the NDP must build new links with organized workers, based on progressive policies and increased regular consultation. Fight for improved collective bargaining rights to assist in organizing the unorganized.

Protect the Environment

Socialist planning of economic development under workers' and community control, is the only way to combat corporate and government profit-driven environmental destruction.

For a Strong Independent Youth Section

A democratic, independent, active and fully-subsidized Youth is the only way to involve and educate new layers of young people.

Fight Racism; Defend Aboriginal Rights

The Party must lead a campaign against racist violence and prejudice against immigrants and visible minorities. Defense of aboriginal rights must include genuine self-government based on a swift settlement of all outstanding land claims.

Gay and Lesbian Rights

Human rights protection is only a beginning in the struggle against discrimination. The Party should speak out against sexual stereotyping, attacks on gays, and for custody rights for lesbian mothers and gay men.

End Poverty and Homelessness Through Social and Economic Planning

A massive housing program, financed by the government through corporate taxation, a profits tax on housing and land speculation, and land expropriation, is needed to combat growing homelessness. Fight poverty through defense and expansion of social programs, income protection programs, and job creation through public enterprise.

The Party must become an activist movement, involved in struggles for these issues during and in between election campaigns, in Parliament and in the streets. We believe these issues will be key for the Party's future in the 1990s.

**Attend Left Caucus meetings
Meetings will be announced and posted.**

**Joint Statement
by the
ALBERTA LEFT CAUCUS
and
ONTARIO LEFT CAUCUS**

19

(Unsigned LC document found in Sept, 1990)

The election of a labor-based NDP government on September 6, 1990 in a province of some 10 million people which contains 40% of Canada's wealth, only a few hundred miles from the financial and political centre of U.S. capitalism contains the seeds of a historic breakthrough. The eventual outcome of this victory, which poses the possibility of an NDP government in Ottawa, will depend, in part, on the ability of the socialist left to join the party and infuse its ranks with the determination, understanding and experiences of various movements for social change.

The cakewalk for the Peterson Liberals evaporated the first moment of the campaign when environmental activists usurped its opening press conference and continued to the last moments when the Liberal government's red-baiting vendetta exploded in its face.

The recession was fundamentally responsible for the political awakening of Ontario's working class, which voted 80% or more in favour of the NDP in ridings such as Hamilton East, York South, Davenport and Windsor, and whch swept the NDP government to power with MPP's from rural and white collar ridings where electoral success was not even contemplated. The economic decline heightened the rejection of the Liberals, whose organic links to the development industry were exposed by the Starr scandal, and of the Tories, whose identity with free trade, the GST and the politics of manipulation in the Meech Lake fiasco removed them as an alternative among politically aware workers, notwithstanding the abysmal efforts of Tory leader Mike Harris to dump his rightward platform as the campaign progressed.

Recoiling from the 1985-1987 semi-coalition government with the Liberals in which it almost lost its identity, and the 1987 election in which a Manhattan ad agency set the tone for a campaign headed by Robin Sears, sinecured shortly after in a

Tokyo trade post by the Liberals, Rae had no where else to go but left. With pressure from the Canadian Auto Workers and United Steelworkers Unions, whose leaderships had sharply criticized the rightward drift of former leader Ed Broadbent and of the NDP in recent years, NDP Ontario leader Bob Rae and his campaign team, which strongly reflected the more activist and labor-oriented wing of the party leadership, ran a populist issue-oriented campaign with strong class appeal. Centred around calls for a minimum corporate tax, opposition to the GST, public auto insurance, pay equity and increased minimum wages and social services, these promised radical reforms met a welcome response from an electorate which could no longer be manipulated by a mistimed election or bribed by its own money. The results suggest that the Big Business parties could not mobilize their soft supporters while the NDP government attracted voters who previously abstained.

Thus, the election results reflected a victory of principle over cynicism, issue-oriented politics over media personality campaigns, simplicity over manipulation and movement politics over ad campaigns.

No single event but rather a combination of events which at any other time would not have had the same significance or consequences discredited the Liberal government. The proliferation of mass single issue movements, especially the women's and environmental movements and recently, the Native rights movement, gave political issues a visibility they otherwise would not have had, assisted in unifying and activating various layers of the population (including teachers, doctors but above all, the labor movement) and marked a confluence between intensified economic struggles and heightened political consciousness, thereby irreversibly undermining traditional voting patterns and loyalties.

That local conjunctural factors were not alone responsible

ONDP Left Caucus Policy Conference

Nov. 25, 1990

Dear Volunteer Chairperson:

We are looking forward to a well attended, useful, and interesting resolutions policy conference (Left Caucus). Thank you for agreeing to play an active leadership role. We believe that the quality of panelists and chairpersons is impressive and representative of the activist base of the Party.

The conference is being held in the **Claude T. Bissell Building at 140 St. George Street**. This building is attached to the northeast corner of the Robarts Library at Sussex Avenue. The workshops are being held on the **third floor** in the Lab rooms labelled **Room 313 or Room 319**. This allows for concurrent workshop sessions as outlined in the conference brochure. Detailed information on room assignments will be posted behind the registration desk in the foyer of the third floor. Please pick up a folder set aside for you at the desk when you arrive.

Chairpersons and presenters are requested to be in their workshop room at least 15 minutes before the scheduled start of the session. Please ask the presenters for their biographical notes (which they have been asked to bring) and for the resolutions (10 copies of each) that they will present and defend. We ask that you make certain that copies of each resolution be taken to the registration desk to a photocopy worker, who will make multiple copies so that the participants in the workshop will be able to follow along. You may wish to enlist the presenters themselves in going to the desk area to get the photocopying done.

Each workshop has 90 minutes. Each presenter has been asked to confine her/his presentation to no more than 10 minutes. In order to allow the maximum time for discussion, these limits must be rigidly adhered to. If we are able to keep the introductions to a minimum and to restrict the speaking time of the audience to something like one to two minutes, then we should be able to gain reasonable participation. The chairperson is entitled to make a contribution with the same speaking limits as others.

If questions are directed to panelists, please be firm in restricting their responses to approximately one minute. If more time is required, consult the audience. It is important that we don't get into a situation of banter between participants, and it is also important that the panelists not monopolize the time. You will have to be the judge if there seems to be a need for more flexibility in addressing some complex questions. In the role of chairperson, you will have to be the constant reminder of the clock.

At the end of the designated time, the chairperson should thank invited guests and conference members, and close the session. **After the session is ended, please bring your folder together with at least one copy of each resolution, to the registration desk.** We will need this material for future use.

Thanks for your help,
In solidarity,

Gord Doctorow & Lois Bedard
Left Caucus Co-chairpersons

P.S. We will be videotaping the sessions in order to preserve the record of discussions for future use.

Provincial Council Forum

TOWARD A SOCIALIST VISION FOR ONTARIO

Speakers:

Stan Gray (Workers health and safety advocate, Greenpeace)

Harry Kopyto (Left Caucus Steering Committee member, civil libertarian)

Dorothy Smith (Sociologist, OISE)

Date: Fri. Dec. 7
Time: 8:00 - 10:30 p.m.
Location: T.B.A.

OND P LEFT CAUCUS
STATION 'M' BOX 107
TORONTO, ONTARIO
M6S 4T2



OND P Left Caucus Conference

December 1 & 2, 1990

Policy Resolutions for OND P March 1991 Convention

*At: Claude T. Bissell Building
140 St. George Street
University of Toronto Campus*

- Presenters will be providing resolutions
- Participants are invited to bring their resolutions
- Photocopying facilities will be available on-site

*Please complete this form and submit
to the ONDP Left Caucus when arriving at the
conference site.*



Why the Left Caucus is holding a policy resolutions conference

The first convention of the Ontario NDP in power will occur on March 2, 3, and 4, 1991 in Toronto. The deadline for resolutions is January 15, 1991. It is urgent for socialists and movement activists to get together now to work out our ideas on policy and have them debated, reproduced and disseminated to ridings. (We will have photocopying facilities at the Left Caucus conference to make duplicates of resolutions.)

Remember this convention will have more delegates, public and media attention than any other convention of our party. The debates we hold will help to inform the future political agenda in Ontario.

To facilitate this process, our panelists will be bringing their own resolutions, to which they will be referring in the course of the presentations. We will also circulate any resolutions by participants who wish to prepare them and bring them to the conference. We anticipate an exciting and inspiring set of discussions and debates which will spill over into the activities of the ONDP convention.

All New Democrats are welcome. We will endeavour to accomodate out-of-towners to the best of our ability. If you need accommodation, please call us regarding billeting arrangements at (416) 322-1664.

REGISTRATION

(NDP memberships will be available at the registration desk.)

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

(STREET) _____

(APTMENT) _____

(CITY) _____ (POSTAL CODE) _____

HOME PHONE () _____

OND P RIDING _____

CONFERENCE FEE

Waged \$20.00

Unwaged \$10.00

Please complete this form and submit it at the registration desk when arriving at the conference.

Saturday, December 1

8:30 - 9:00 a.m. Registration

9:00 - 9:15 a.m. Plenary session

Room 313

WORKSHOPS (9:15 - 10:45 a.m.)

CHOOSE ONE

Room 319

Combatting Racism

Lennox Farrell (Black Action Defence Ctte)

Frank Dreaver
(Leonard Pelletier Defence Ctte - CDN)

Another speaker to be announced.

Housing

Penny Bethke (Labour Coop Housing)

Heather Dean (Fed. of Metro Tenants Assoc.)

Michael Shapcott
(Bread Not Circuses)

10:45 - 11:00 a.m. Nutrition Break

WORKSHOPS (11:00 - 12:30)

Room 313

CHOOSE ONE

Room 319

Youth

Jason Baines (ONDY Executive Member)

Olivia Rebeiro
(Co-Chair, U. of T. NDP Club)

Jeff Smith
(Glendon Campus NDP Club)

Labour and Economics

Barbara Cameron
(Organizer, ILGWU)

Harry Glasbeek
(Law Professor, Osgoode Hall)

Laurel Ritchie
(Canadian Council of Unions)

12:30 - 2:00 LUNCH

2:00 - 2:30 "Challenges and opportunities for the left in the NDP"

Gord Doctorow
(Co-Chair Left Caucus)

Room 313

WORKSHOPS (2:30 - 4:00)

CHOOSE ONE

Room 319.

Environment

Representative of Greenpeace

Representative of Pollution Probe

Jack Layton
(Toronto Alderman, Ward 6)

Women's Rights

Joyce Rosenthal
(CARAL - Toronto)

Jane Walsh
(NAC, Reproductive Technology)

Carmelle Harrison
Lois Bedard (Caring for Dependent Seniors)

8:00 p.m. - 1:00 a.m. LEFT CAUCUS SOCIAL

Sunday, December 2

WORKSHOPS (10:30 - 12 noon)

Room 313

CHOOSE ONE

Room 319

Education

Roz Doctorow (Fed. of Women Teachers Asso. of Ont.)

Don Wright (Ontario Secondary School Teachers Fed.)

Ron Martin
(Ont. Public Service Employees Union -- Sheridan College)

Greg Elmer (Ontario Fed. of Students)

Justice for Women

Carol Ann Sceviour
(Equal Pay Coalition)

Marguerite Andersen
(NAC Ctte on Violence)

Janet Moore
(President, Ontario Coalition for Better Childcare)

noon - 12:30 Plenary Session: "Organizing for Policy Change at the ONDP Convention in March 1991"

The Left Caucus Newsletter and You

Each issue of the Newsletter costs about \$800. That includes getting the union label, printing on recycled paper, mailing, and distributing copies at meetings and rallies. The Newsletter expresses the voice of left-wing opinion inside the NDP. We strive to link up all the ongoing struggles with the struggle for socialism.

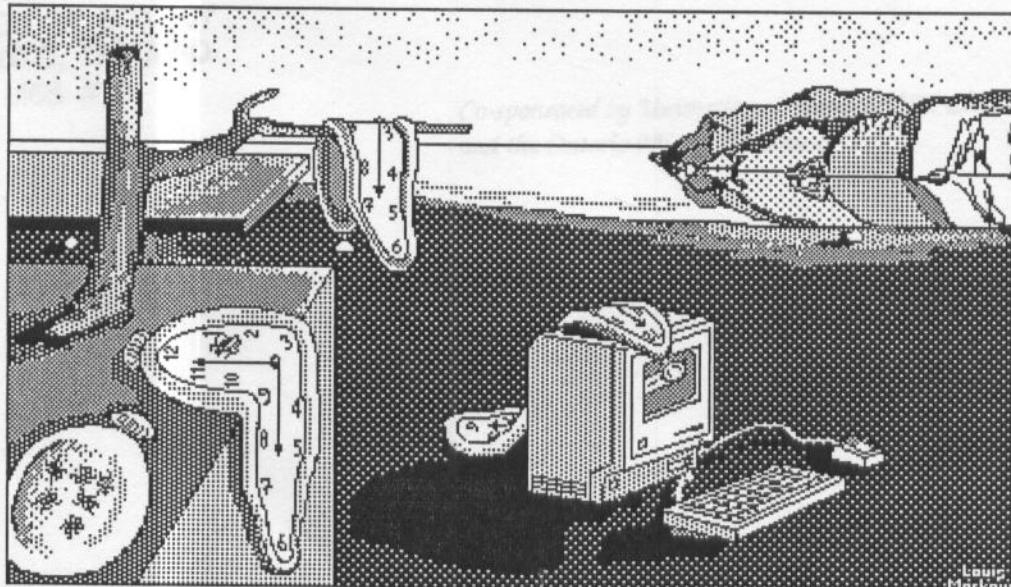
In Canada, the existence of the NDP as a mass labor party allows us to combine socialist theory with practical organizing. Despite the limitations of leadership and program within the NDP, it nonetheless remains the arena of independent workingclass politics. It is the area in which socialists can help to shape and influence the real struggles. It is necessary to offer a serious left perspective within this political vehicle.

The Left Caucus Newsletter continues to battle on our collective behalf. We use it to overcome the isolation of individual socialists scattered throughout the Party and to provide a forum for political discussion and collaboration. While the work of the Newsletter is entirely voluntary, we have been able to improve the technology of production to provide readers with an attractive and informative paper. However, volunteer labor alone and the small subscription fee that is charged are insufficient to sustain the Newsletter. We need your financial support.

You can help to sustain this vital project with your donations. Every financial contribution goes towards ensuring that the voice of socialism will continue to be heard inside the NDP. Thus a financial contribution has both material and moral value. Please send your cheques payable to the ONDP Left Caucus and mail them to ONDP Left Caucus, Station M, Box 107, Toronto, Ontario, M6S 4T2. A convenient way of making a significant donation is to send us a series of post-dated cheques. That way we can count on a funding base to plan a number of future issues. We rely on you.

In socialist solidarity,

The Editors





(CANADA)

**Leonard Peltier Defence
Committee (Canada)**

43 Chandler Dr., Scarborough,
Ontario, Canada, M1G 1Z1
Tel: (416) 439-1893
Fax: (416) 439-1893



**Global Demand for Justice and
Freedom for North American
Native Political Prisoner
Leonard Peltier
(partial list of supporters):**

Amnesty International

Anglican Church of Canada

Archbishop Desmond Tutu

Assembly of First Nations

Canadian Union of Educational Workers

Don Edwards (Chair of the U.S.
Subcommittee on Constitutional and
Civil Rights)

Fourth Bertrand Russell Tribunal
International Indian Treaty Council

Jesse Jackson

Jim Fulton (NDP MP, Canada)

Law Union of Ontario

Mohawk Nation — Six Nations
Confederacy

Native Council of Canada

Native Women's Association of Canada

Onaway Trust, England

Oneida Nation — Six Nations
Confederacy

Soviet Peace Committee

Spanish Human Rights Commission

Leonard Peltier, Recipient of 1986
International Human Rights Award,
Spain)

Stichting Nanai (Netherlands Action
Group for North American Indians)

Union of B.C. Indian Chiefs

U.S. National Association of Criminal
Lawyers

William Kunstler (Center for
Constitutional Rights, New York)

World Conference on Religion and
Peace

World Council of Churches

Legal Council (Canada):
Dianne Martin, Clayton Ruby

**THREE RESOLUTIONS TO THE NDP GOVERNMENT OF ONTARIO
AT THE LEFT CAUCUS CONFERENCE, DECEMBER 1, 1990
TORONTO, CANADA**

**SUBMITTED BY: FRANK DREAVER & BRUCE RYDER OF THE
LEONARD PELTIER DEFENSE COMMITTEE (CDN)**

**1. LEONARD PELTIER -- POLITICAL PRISONER
AND VICTIM OF THE UNJUST TREATMENT TOWARD
ABORIGINAL PEOPLES BY NORTH AMERICAN GOVERNMENTS**

**WHEREAS SOME ABORIGINAL PEOPLE ARE UNJUSTLY
IMPRISONED FOR DEFENDING THEIR TRADITIONAL
IDENTITIES AND THE RIGHT OF ABORIGINAL NATIONS TO
THEIR SELF DETERMINATION AND SURVIVAL;**

**WHEREAS THE PRIME EXAMPLE IN NORTH AMERICA OF
A POLITICAL PRISONER IS LEONARD PELTIER,
LAKOTA/CHIPPEWA, FALSELY IMPRISONED FOR 16 YEARS,
RESULTING FROM A GROSS MISCARRIAGE OF JUSTICE,
COMMENCING WITH A BREACH OF TRUST AND VIOLATION OF
CANADIAN SOVEREIGNTY BY OBTAINING HIS EXTRADITION
FROM CANADA IN 1976 BY MEANS OF THE SUBMISSION OF
FABRICATED EVIDENCE; AND WHICH CONTINUED WITH THE
SUPPRESSION OF EVIDENCE AND A DENIAL OF DUE
PROCESS DURING CRIMINAL PROCEEDINGS IN THE UNITED
STATES;**

**BE IT RESOLVED THAT THE GOVERNMENT OF ONTARIO
ACKNOWLEDGES AND CONDEMS THE MISCARRIAGE OF
JUSTICE RESULTING FROM THE EXTRADITION FRAUD AND
JOIN THE INTERNATIONAL MOVEMENT TO DEMAND FREEDOM
AND JUSTICE FOR LEONARD PELTIER.**

**BE IT RESOLVED THAT THE GOVERNMENT OF ONTARIO
FULLY SUPPORTS AND PUBLICLY DECLARES THAT SUPPORT
OF THE EFFORTS OF MEMBERS OF THE FEDERAL NDP
CAUCUS AND MEMBERS OF OTHER POLITICAL PARTIES
DEMANDING THAT THE GOVERNMENT OF CANADA
ACKNOWLEDGE THE EXTRADITION FRAUD AND SEEK LEONARD
PELTIER'S RETURN TO CANADA.**

2. RECOGNITION AND ENTRENCHMENT OF ABORIGINAL NATIONHOOD
RIGHTS AND TRADITIONAL GOVERNING

WHEREAS THE NDP GOVERNMENT OF ONTARIO FULLY SUPPORTS ABORIGINAL NATIONHOOD AND SOVEREIGNTY;

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED THAT THE PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT OF ONTARIO NOW SETS THE EXAMPLE BY ENTRENCHING THE RIGHT OF ABORIGINAL NATIONHOOD AND SOVEREIGNTY IN ITS POLICIES, RECOGNIZE AND AFFIRM THE EXISTENCE OF TRADITIONAL ABORIGINAL GOVERNMENTS AND GOVERNING AND MAINTAIN PROVINCE-TO-NATION DIALOGUE WITH ABORIGINAL NATIONS;

3. OCTOBER 12 -- INDIGENOUS SOLIDARITY DAY

WHEREAS OCTOBER 12 IS PROCLAIMED BY THE INTERNATIONAL INDIAN TREATY COUNCIL (AN NGO AFFILIATE TO THE UNITED NATIONS), AS AN INTERNATIONAL DAY IN SOLIDARITY WITH THE INDIGENOUS PEOPLES OF NORTH AMERICA;

WHEREAS IN 1992 WILL BE THE 500-YEAR ANNIVERSARY OF THE DISCOVERY OF THE AMERICAS AND THE SUBSEQUENT COLONIALIZATION OF THE INDIGENOUS PEOPLES AND NATIONS OF NORTH AMERICA;

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED THAT THE GOVERNMENT OF ONTARIO DECLARES OCTOBER 12 OF EACH YEAR AS A DAY OF RECOGNITION OF THE STRUGGLE FOR TRUE JUSTICE, EQUALITY AND SELF-DETERMINATION OF THE ABORIGINAL PEOPLE AND NATIONS OF NORTH AMERICA; AND A DAY OF SOLIDARITY FOR THE PEOPLE, SUCH AS NORTH AMERICAN INDIAN LEADER LEONARD PELTIER, WHO STAND OUT AS EXAMPLES TO ALL HUMANITY FOR THE DEFENSE OF THEIR LAND, CULTURE AND IDENTITY.



JIM FULTON, M.P.
SKEENA

HOUSE OF COMMONS
CHAMBRE DES COMMUNES
OTTAWA, CANADA
K1A 0A6

Constituency Offices:

Atlin	(604) 651-7713
Cassiar	(604) 778-7340
Kitimat	Zenith 2869
New Aiyansh	(604) 633-2401
Prince Rupert	(604) 624-8007
Queen Charlotte City	(604) 559-8379
Smithers	(604) 847-8464 or Zenith 2869
Stewart	(604) 636-2602
Terrace	(604) 638-1818

November 30, 1990

Rt. Hon. Joe Clark
Secretary of State for External Affairs
165 East Block
House of Commons
Ottawa
K1A 0A6

Dear Minister,

I spoke today to Leonard Peltier from Leavenworth Penitentiary. I know you are aware of my concern in this matter and am certain that you share my desire to see the damage done to our Extradition Treaty with the United States vis a viz Mr. Peltier's Case remedied.

Mr. Peltier held discussions with Senator Daniel Inouye of Hawaii yesterday. His case is being reviewed at the senior political levels of the U.S. Administration.

Minister, the External Affairs Committee have attempted to deal with this matter for months, but the Minister of Justice has refused to appear.

I sincerely request that you discuss the matter with Senator Inouye. I believe his suggestion of a request from Canada to the U.S. Senate to investigate the use of known fraudulent material to obtain Mr. Peltier's Extradition is quite proper.

Since the External Affairs Committee have taken valuable time to hear this matter and are now holding on making a formal request because of the delay by the Minister of Justice; surely it is time for your good Office to trigger the U.S. Senate hearings. I understand from Senator Inouye that this would be the expeditious way get the matter underway.

sincerely,

Jim Fulton, MP

JF/dgd

Left Caucus

Meeting to organize for the ONDП Convention

Friday, February 22, 1991

7:30 p.m. - 10:30 p.m.

*University of Toronto
Sanford Fleming Building
Room 1105 (Blue Room)
10 King's College Road*

We will be meeting to discuss resolutions, priorities, floor strategy, running candidates for Provincial Executive, etc. All are welcome to participate and help organize for a socialist intervention.

(Found in Feb) (1991)

The NDP and the Antiwar Movement

an editorial from the Steering Committee of the ONDP Left Caucus

The antiwar movement is on!

Within only two weeks, tens of thousands of Canadians — far more than in the first two years of the Vietnam War — have demonstrated their opposition to the Gulf War. Both the scope and political sophistication of the protests are clearly unprecedented.

The New Democratic Party has been in the forefront of the movement against this war from the start, standing firm against the hype and hypocrisy of the Tory government.

Federal NDP leader Audrey McLaughlin has called on New Democrats to actively involve themselves, including as leaders, in the various antiwar coalitions. This is now an urgent challenge before Party ridings and individuals.

Some antiwar groups have been reluctant to openly include the NDP within coalitions or even among rally speakers, fearing the movement will become identified with or dominated by the Party.

We feel this fear is unfounded and the policy mistaken. As McLaughlin has said, it would be arrogant for the Party to assume the leadership of the movement. Rather, we want to participate as full and equal partners with all other organizations opposed to this war.

The antiwar movement will succeed only if — as with the movement that developed during the Vietnam War — it broadens to include all forces in united opposition to the war, ultimately involving the majority of public opinion. To think this can be done without the active participation of the mass-based NDP, both its leadership and membership, is illusory and threatens to leave the movement confined to the radical left periphery of Canadian antiwar opinion.

In fact, we must go even further and draw participation (including on speakers' platforms) from among the Liberals, who are becoming ever more split over the war, and even from the odd disaffected Tory.

It is the NDP, however, that is foremost identified as the Party opposed to the war. It is the NDP that foremost should be invited and, where necessary, challenged by antiwar forces to lend its resources and expertise to build the broadest antiwar movement this country has ever seen. This is especially so in Ontario, where the NDP is in power, has the public's ear and formidable resources at its disposal.

Bob Rae is the only premier in Canada who has spoken out against the war. As important as this is, it is not enough. We must enlist his assistance, McLaughlin's, and that of the entire Party in mobilizing Ontario and Canadian public opinion against this, the first onslaught of George Bush's "new world order" (*pax Americana*), which will affect the economic and political climate and fortunes of everyone, including Canadians and Ontarians, for years to come.

(The main umbrella coalition in the Metro Toronto area is called Toronto Coalition for Troops Out of the Gulf. They may be reached at 388-3063.)

Left Caucus Steering Committee Thurs, Mar

Found in (1991)

1991 ✓

1 Convention

(Harry) Importance of tables & literature
Importance of manned
Importance of Conference, resolution generated and distributed
Candidates in the election { 8 point programme
Weaknesses

(Gord) No real contact with Youth
Both Convention was to Black Mvt
convince "world" we are co-operate
- Labour "refugee" struggle - omnibus resolution
- 3 strands reflecting boldness Youth, Blacks, Tenants
Environmental, Left Caucus,

(Bob) Bob Rae delivering the goods to moderate elect.
Draft on economy Active on Canadian unity

(Joe) Left tired - not electrifying
Youth debate defeated significant
Resolutions de-emphasized No debate Too little time to
allocated to revolⁿ

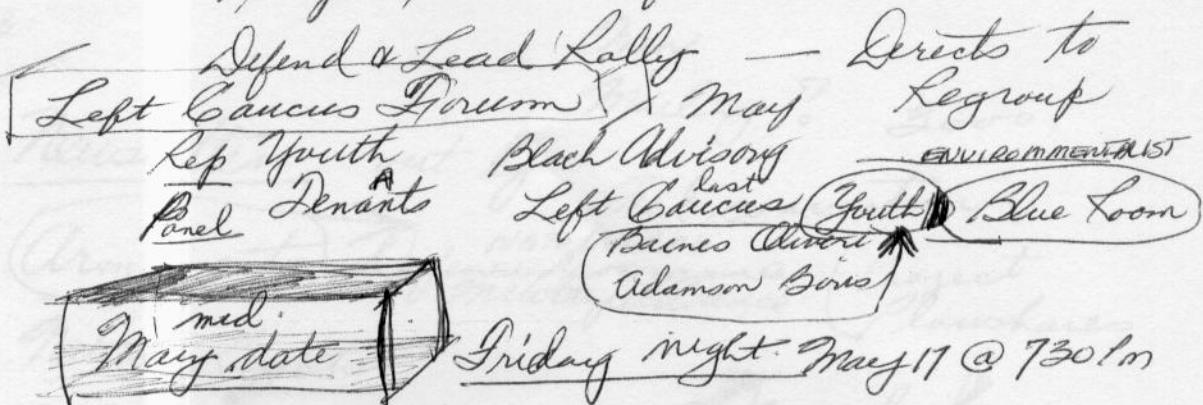
Boris students disillusioned but off in little group

Lou next year Resolutions for 1992 Convention

Gord Question logic of NDP re food banks - rent
Socialism relevant
Hang together or die.

Way Forward for Alliance

2



- Joe NDP is in power — do it! Movement Ball conference
Bob rent, rent strikes Sharp purely speeches
Bob limits himself Doesn't mobilizing

3

Closed-Meeting to NDP
Coalition with → Left Caucus Umbrella
Sam Sebora Coalition member
disabled

Newsletter Fundraising (Federal Convention)
Out day [May 18]

- First NDL convention Analysis
1 Fine paper recycling — Ruth Greer
2 Workers Control — Sam Guindon → Scandinavia
3 U. Insurance Jim Lush
4 Crown corporation Gerry Hynes
5 Socialist Policy for Housing Danny Drache
6 Constitution
7 Native Question
8 Vision for Economic Canada of US
9 Solidarity with Quebec Common interest

Page 3

Mr

Mailing? 3000.

Newsletter out by

Fred convention

- 1 (Armanents) → Defence ^{NATO NORAD} programme. (Project Plowshares)

BILL CLINTON & Native Lights

- RON BAKER 3 Vision for Canada - Constitutional Assembly Demand for

- Short 4 Solidarity with Quebec Socialist House new FLQ

- 5 GST; Unemployment; Corporate Agenda
Independent Socialist Canada

- 6 ^{NDP} Vision for Canada Federal

- 7 Independent Youth sections in NDP

16th April Tues Left Caucus

Fred Colahan 4 copies

BORIS
CIB

Agenda

(March '91)

Left Caucus March
191

- 1 Discuss convention
- 2 Left Caucus Forum May 10/91
- 3 Newsletter May 18/91
Deadline May 18/91
- 4 Fall Convention
- 5 June Provincial Council Windsor
- 6 Public Forum
- 7 New business

Attendance

End. Loco Harry, Joe, Lon Bois, Bill
Doctorow Beland Kopff Steinbock Bolker Clinton

Hanna.

Start 9:25 PM

W24- from (W5)1991-03Mar02-1 OCR scan Mar 15/11 Proofed correx jd-ceo
May20/11 --collated Jul3/21

THE MARCH (1991) ONDP CONVENTION--WHERE NOW? by Harry Kopyto and Gordon Doctorow (*bold emphases by the Web Ed.*)

The current economic situation

Algoma – the Canadian-owned company that produces more than 70% of Canada's structural steel is in deep financial trouble. Premier Bob Rae has promised to pump tens of millions of dollars to keep Algoma going. But Bob Rae's goodwill aside, the question still remains: can Canada's industrial heartland survive the Mulroney government's efforts to jettison Canadian industries in favor of continental integration? Can the NDP in Ontario bail out our highest-paying union jobs in steel and auto parts when the federal government, acting as the executive committee of big business interests, is offering no resistance to the U.S. takeover of our branch-plant economy, threatening to leave one industry towns, like Sault Ste. Marie, empty shells? Are the NDP's hopes real? Or are the NDP's efforts "to do the right thing" going to be crushed by the Tories' offensive?

As with the rest of the English-speaking world, Canada is in a state of growing economic decline. The current recession is characterized by features which have been aggravated by measures designed to maintain a high rate of profit and postpone the unavoidable downturn. These measures have included an intensification of competition and trade and a growing tendency for conglomerate capital to transfer its operations to regions of low wages and minimal social costs.

This pattern has taken on a specific form in the North American context. We are now firsthand victims of the consequences of two years of "free trade" with the United States and at the threshold of becoming integrated into important sectors of the Mexican economy as well, in a more formal fashion. The transformation of three North American countries into one economic trade unit is an unavoidable and necessary consequence of the efforts of the U.S. economic elite to maintain its relative position vis-a-vis Japan and Germany while at the same time avoiding the negative impact of having become the world's largest borrower instead of the world's largest creditor in a few short years.

The Conservative Party has enthusiastically embraced this agenda for continental integration. More so than at any other time, it has become the enthusiastic agent and sycophantic booster of continentalism. The Conservatives are willing to lock Canada into a high dollar rate as part of the Free Trade Agreement, thereby undermining irreversibly important sectors of Canadian manufacturing industries, such as textiles. This highlights the degree to which the Conservative Party is willing to set aside any "specific" interests of the Canadian economic elite in order to service "the greater good" of integrating

Canada into the North American economy within the structures of a single free trade region.

In order to implement this policy, the federal government has facilitated the de-industrialization of the economy, taking no measures whatever to halt the epidemic of closures which is threatening Canadian communities across the country and in every province. The working class in this country is having inflicted upon it the agenda of the Conservatives — the draining away of our best-paying and highly skilled jobs in industries such as steel and auto parts and an erosion of the ability of provincial governments to maintain social security measures by imposing unprecedented restrictions on transfer payments. Finally, they have launched a direct assault on the working class, exemplified by the Tory's declared intention to hold federal public service wage increases to 9% over a three year period. The result of all these measures is the transformation of the Canadian economy into a region which will be characterized by a permanently lowered living standard, chronic unemployment and severe restrictions on social security measures.

The September Election (*The first labor government in one of Canada's leading industrial provinces – Ed.*)

Many of these consequences were already felt by the working class in Canada when the New Democratic Party was elected last September. The election of an NDP government expressed the unease that workers felt with the economic situation. The vote expressed a lack of confidence in the ability of the other big business party in Canada, the Liberal Party, to confront the Conservative Party's continentalist agenda as the main agent and spokesperson for the process of economic integration. Finally, it underlined the ability of workers to break lengthy traditional voting patterns and seek new alternatives.

The New Democratic Party's membership has increased by approximately ten thousand members to a level of thirty seven thousand. Many members and leaders of the New Democratic Party since that time have participated under their own banner and sometimes officially in the name of the government in a variety of extra-parliamentary protests including protests against the war in the Gulf (*Iraq – ed.*), support for the right to choose, in defence of the environment and others.

The election of the NDP raised expectations that Ontario workers will be defended in the recession. Support for the party increased to an unprecedented percentage — in the high fifties — only a few weeks before the convention. Students, women, trade unionists, young people and social activists of every stripe have had their expectations raised by the election of the first independent labour political party in the history of Ontario.

It was in this context — a massive assault on the standard of living of the Canadian working class and high expectations that the new government would successfully defend it from this attack — that the convention of the ONDP took place March 2nd to 4th, 1991. Though the enthusiasm generated for the NDP by the Agenda for People

(the name of the program upon which it was elected) had become tempered by the threatened burgeoning of Ontario's deficit to ten billion dollars and the decline of its corporate tax base, a general sense of good will and hope prevailed that the Rae government would finally be able to fulfill long-held expectations.

The Leadership's Role

Both the labour wing of the bureaucracy and the political wing of the bureaucracy that dominate the New Democratic Party were well represented at the convention. The resolutions that were presented by the provincial council's resolution priorities committee, reflecting the leadership's views in various areas of concern, were very much in the tradition of classical reforms in favour of working people and contained numerous resolutions reflecting the agenda of the labour movement. These reforms included eliminating streaming of students, expanding the Ontario Health Insurance Plan to cover dental and orthodontic care, affirmative action towards employment equity, pay equity, recognition of same sex marriages and numerous others. The labour movement won a variety of "concessions" as well: banning the use of scabs during a legal strike, increasing the minimum wage from 40% to 60% of the average industrial wage over four years, requiring all overtime rates to be paid at double time, making all overtime work voluntary, phasing in a 35-hour statutory work week within five years, requiring employers to specify dates and targets for promoting and hiring visible minorities, making labor studies part of each school's curriculum and passing legislation to establish a common pause day. Virtually all these resolutions were adopted unanimously with the backing of both the leadership and membership. These reforms, paradoxically, were adopted without reference to the sharpening class conflicts in Canada which are stripping away existing social gains and making food banks and homeless persons a permanent feature.

Nevertheless, the promise to implement these reforms was more than enough to placate the majority of almost one thousand delegates from ridings who joined more than three hundred union delegates and several hundred others at the convention to discuss the future of the party. The first convention since the NDP was elected to power six months earlier, it was one of the most tightly-controlled and bureaucratically-managed in the NDP's history. This situation was made possible and reinforced by the significant reforms and general atmosphere of high expectations generated by the election and by the leadership, both through resolutions that were prioritized and in speeches.

And there were speeches and speeches. Discussions of resolutions were so frequently interrupted by tributes and celebrations – for every conceivable excuse – that the "love-in" characterization of the convention by the media appeared not far off mark. All of this was strongly cemented by the absence of any conflicts between the political and labour wings of the bureaucracy and frequent speeches by Premier Bob Rae. When the caucus members were called forth and assembled around Bob Rae at the podium, the message was neither subtle nor subliminal: "You are in safe hands with..."

The Role of the Membership

But underneath this superficial quietude of the convention, there was a stream of

concern fed precisely by these high expectations, and even elements of anger and rebelliousness. The Ontario Young New Democrats, recently infused with new members and activists, led a successful fight on the floor in favour of freezing tuition fees. A motion to insure public schools hired teachers that reflect the ethnic qualities of the population was passed by the convention under strong prodding from the Black Caucus. And a Left Caucus resolution, incorporating major changes to the Human Rights Commission, was positively referred. An emergency resolution backing the federal party's opposition to the Gulf war, a resolution against free trade with Mexico and others were passed virtually unanimously. Applause greeted MP Dan Heap when he called for an expression of solidarity with the struggle in El Salvador. The omnibus labor and employment bill clearly affirmed the right to strike.

Yet the most contentious discussions did not take place. The government's retreat from its promise to cap rent increases was never permitted to be raised by the NDP establishment which stacked all the microphones with time consuming ennui to prevent discussion of the most contentious issue of the government's term to date. Efforts to raise public ownership and workers democracy were defeated on procedural points or without discussions on the merits. A move by Ontario Young New Democrats to effectively establish their autonomy by a constitutional amendment was defeated. But, perhaps most significantly, hanging like an albatross over the entire convention, was the declaration by Bob Rae, repeated ad nauseum to the convention and to the media before, during, and after the convention, that he now had "a wider responsibility to all the people of the province, many of whom – indeed, I think it's fair to say, most of whom, are not necessarily members or supporters of the NDP."

In case the message was misunderstood, party officials made it clear that they would not be bound by party policy, already ignored on certain key issues such as the promise to cap rental increases to the rate of inflation. Even the **Toronto Star** was moved to slyly describe this feat by Rae as "treating his victory more like a defeat".

The frequent speeches by Bob Rae, which the labour movement did not take issue with at this convention, made the point that an NDP government could use its strength to force the corporate elite to work together with working people to prevent the loss of jobs and plant shutdowns. This concept of tripartism -- which embraces the thinking of the current leadership of the Ontario Federation of Labor – is the only solution that Rae has come up with to counter the Tory offensive and the continentalization and de-industrialization of Ontario's and Canada's economy. Rae undoubtedly wants to solidify his relationship with labour through the numerous reforms and resolutions passed at the convention and through his promise to use his power to force management to come to terms with workers. But this is unlikely to be sufficient to counter the severe dislocation caused by the restructuring of the economy. The transformation of the Conservative Party into a brazen U.S. surrogate reflects the growing weight of U.S. capital in Canada in contrast to weakening Canadian-owned industries, heavily penalized by the limited size of the Canadian market and comparatively high transportation and production costs, and which cannot survive long in competition with more efficient and large-scale foreign trade blocs. The reliance upon the same old shibboleths by the NDP leadership to counter this dramatically new accelerated offensive will prove entirely illusory. Yet the almost seventeen hundred delegates attending the convention went along with Rae, their expectations raised, their hopes still firm and

un-shattered, that the "mixed economy" solution Rae supported explicitly at the convention will block the fiercest attack working people in Canada have faced in decades.

The Role of the Left

Notwithstanding the honeymoon with the Rae leadership an undercurrent of opposition at the convention was already evident in many ways. Delegates were distinctly unenthusiastic that their issues had to compete for attention at the convention with other important issues, though the convention somehow managed to end half an hour early and was able, for example, on its first day of session, to devote all but one hour and fifty minutes to convention formalities and constitutional discussion.

The fissures among the rank and file appeared most dramatically and fervently among the young delegates who out-mobilized and out-manipulated the leadership in a fierce floor-fight over the tuition freeze issue winning their resolution only days after the government had itself announced a tuition fee increase. While efforts by delegates to raise the issue of capping rental increases to the inflation rate were unsuccessful, many of these delegates left the convention defeated but not demoralized, and determined to carry on their fight.

The Black Advisory Caucus was successful in changing the priority of two resolutions, forcing the convention to affirm its support for resolutions calling for civilian control of police and on the Ontario Human Rights Commission. The Caucus played a vocal and active role on other issues as well and succeeded in electing two of its leaders including Lennox Farrell as a member-at-large, only 20 votes behind frontrunner party bureaucrat Michael Lewis and 80 votes ahead of CUPE President Jeff Rose. Lennox, who was endorsed by the Left Caucus ran on a program emphasizing affirmative action for minorities, anti-racism, anti-colonialism and for socialist measures.

The Left Caucus ran Harry Kopyto for member-at-large on a slate which emphasized an eight point program including the need for socialist measures to combat de-industrialization. In favour of rooting the party within the activist movements, the program included calls for social justice for all, support for NDP municipal campaigns, the establishment of a labour-socialist press, immediate environmental action, support for an independent and dynamic youth section and affordable and available quality housing. Over thirteen percent of the delegates voted to elect Harry Kopyto on a program which explicitly called for public ownership and represented a direct affront to the illusions of the NDP leadership on economic issues. In the context of a heavily manipulated convention and a generalized campaign not to rock the boat or embarrass the government, the decision of one out of every eight delegates to endorse the Left Caucus program showed that there was a hard core of militant socialists who were prepared to take the leadership on despite all the hoopla. Over 100 delegates publicly endorsed Kopyto's candidacy, many of them youth and students who were in open rebellion against the leadership, visible minority members and workers. Kopyto's direct challenge to Rae at the microphones to implement the program on reforming the human rights commission whatever the cost received support and applause from many riding delegates.

The Left Caucus played a dynamic role in the convention circulating eight different items of literature including two leaflets in support of Kopyto, two in support of Lennox Farrell, the Left Caucus Newsletter, a leaflet indicating resolutions supported by the Left –

over six thousand leaflets in all.

Without an atmosphere of polarization or a spirit of combativity at the convention, the Left Caucus meetings were generally modest in size. Still, contacts were either made or solidified with activists in the tenants' movement, the Ontario Young New Democrats, the Black Caucus and with rank and file riding activists. Several of the resolutions adopted at the convention were written by Left Caucus members or with their support. The openness with which the left operated in the convention, intervening frequently in numerous debates and circulating its literature aggressively was, in some respects, quite unique. There was clearly a residual feeling that the leadership of the party had to reflect some fresh blood from the rank and file. Numerous votes for various executive positions indicated that such activists were able to garner as much as twenty five and thirty percent of the vote in campaigns which pitted them against established party figures.

WHERE NOW?

The convention affirmed the labor character of the party clearly and emphatically, symbolized by the election of Julie Davis from the Ontario Federation of Labor as President. It affirmed the resiliency of the Party, showing how the broad social movements — youth and Blacks, for example — were able to win concessions through their militancy, determination and organization.

It showed that the NDP continues to be organically linked to the movements of working people whatever the vacillations of the leadership on this or that issue, whatever political myopia it may exhibit at any given moment. The convention confirmed the correctness of the perspective of the Left Caucus — that the NDP remains the area where the different social forces on the left can contend for a hearing, where the possibilities of developing socialist consciousness and awareness remains real and where allies from different struggle can unite in a common struggle.

If it can be said that support for the left was limited by the leadership's willingness to embrace significant reforms and solidarize itself with the labour movement, these moves by the leadership also tended to circumvent its ability to retreat from these positions. The high expectations generated among the delegates by the leadership, soon to be transmitted by the delegates to the membership, will not be easy to dissipate. This will be especially true in the coming showdown between the economic elite using the Conservative Party to transfer whatever remains of Canada's resources to the transcontinental corporations and the working people in this country who are seeing their plants close, their jobs disappear, and their social services wither.

What will happen if the leadership fails to honour its promises? What will happen if the leadership is unable to fulfill its promises? What will happen if the tripartist determination of the NDP government fails to make workers and bosses collaborate in running the store? What if jobs keep disappearing notwithstanding Bob Rae's tough guy stance?

We have already seen the beginning of dissent. The role of the left in the future is to continue to root itself in the activities of the party, in the riding associations, to assume responsibility by accepting executive positions, to become involved in the various activities, the anti-war, anti-racist, anti-sexist and environmental movements which have been a source of recruitment and growth for the party.

Even more, the task before the Left Caucus is to initiate broad open discussions needed to direct the party in the coming period which will see the intensification of the class struggle. A showdown is on the horizon. The survival of Canada is at stake. Workers who are being hammered by plant shutdowns, cutbacks and wage freezes will not be patient forever. The task of the Left Caucus must centre on stemming any disaffection which might come from those who may become disheartened by the failure of the NDP to succeed in its tripartite approaches. A social solution based on a vision of an economic plan managed in the interests of working people and designed to restructure Canada's economic infrastructure is needed. A plan which builds on public ownership of our resources and the full utilization of our highly skilled working class is the only vision that can counter the unmitigated attack on the standard of living of Canadians being pursued by the Tories.

Canada is in the midst of a growing constitutional crisis as well as an economic crisis. The interrelatedness of these two crises has put on the agenda for Canadian working people the need for an independent and socialist Canada on a more urgent basis than ever before. If the future shows that the liberal reformism of the present NDP leadership cannot meet the challenge from Mulroney, the party will have to return to the principles of socialist democracy. The realization will dawn that socialism is no longer a fanciful dream. It is the only solution to the burning issues of the day.

(end)

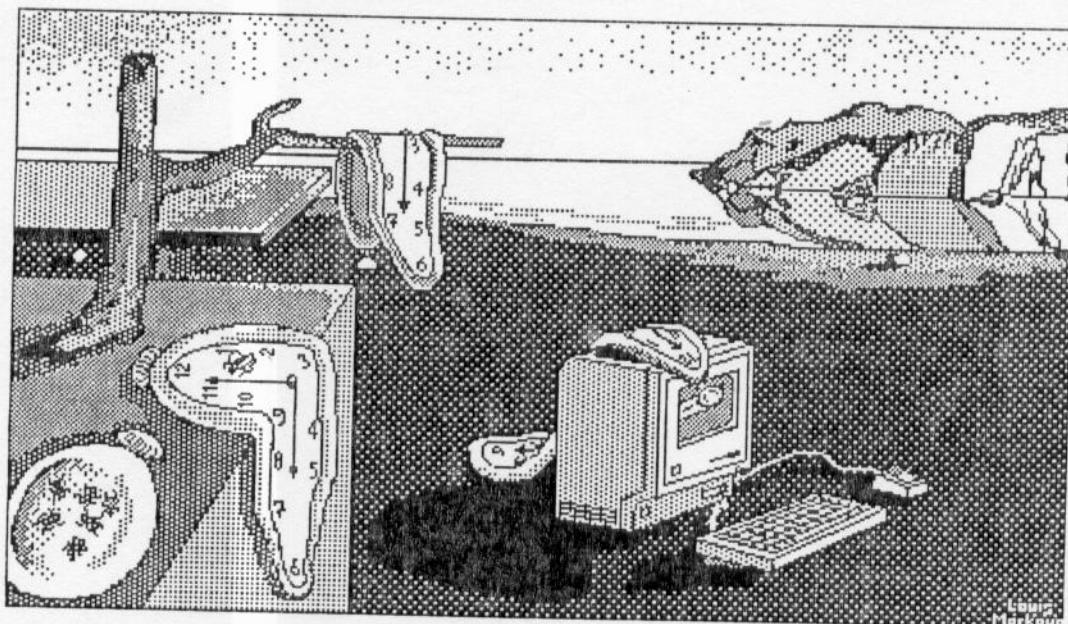
(Note: the Mulroney government suffered a big defeat in the federal election of 1993, shortly after Mulroney himself was forced to resign in the face of several scandals. His successor Kim Campbell, after a record short time in power, then suffered the worst electoral disaster in Canadian history –Ed.)

A Left Caucus Program for a Socialist Ontario

(1991)

We invite you to participate in formulating a socialist program for Ontario -- one that could be submitted to the next Ontario NDP Convention. At the March 4 Left Caucus Forum on Socialist Economic Alternatives, it was decided to set up three policy formulation groups: Planning and Democracy, Health and the Environment, Equality. Each group would undertake to gather information from activists in their areas of concern and from the NDP task forces to put together an up-to-date comprehensive policy platform suitable for presentation in an election format. If you would like to be involved, please complete the information below and mail this page to:

ONDp Left Caucus
Station M, Box 107
Toronto, Ontario
M6S 4T2



Name _____

Street Address _____ Phone _____

City/Town _____ Province _____ Postal Code _____

Preferred Policy Group _____

April 29, 1991

Dear

Thank you for agreeing to participate in the ONDP Left Caucus forum on the theme of action on the NDP program. We feel a sense of great urgency in getting together representatives of social activists in and around the NDP. We all feel the necessity to mobilise popular pressure to counter the pro-business, right wing tendencies that are bearing down against the NDP government. We hope that the forum will serve to stimulate a free-ranging discussion which is as inclusive as possible with a view to finding common ground in working together within the NDP.

The enclosed leaflet is for your information. Please feel free to circulate and/or duplicate it for circulation among activists with which you are in contact. We think it is very important to involve as many interested people as possible.

We request that you arrive at least 15 minutes before the forum start time in order to coordinate the chairing and flow of the meeting. We anticipate that your comments will be approximately five minutes in length particularly as we anticipate that a few more speakers than advertised will also be on the platform. After the speeches, the audience will be invited to ask questions and make their own contributions. You and the other speakers will have an opportunity to engage back and forth with the audience. At the end, we will ask you to make some brief summary comments.

One goal that we hope will be achieved from this forum is to lay the basis for some kind of ongoing relationship to plan interventions within the Party and mobilisations to gain the attention of the government.

Thanks once again. And if you have any questions, please contact either one of the Co-chairpersons of the Left Caucus: Lois Bédard at 961-4554 or Gord Doctorow at 497-8039.

In solidarity,
Gord Doctorow

Lois Bédard

Gord Doctorow
Lois Bédard

OND^P Left Caucus Forum

ACT NOW TO IMPLEMENT THE ONT. NDP PROGRAM

Come with your concerns. Let's join together to discuss the urgent tasks before us. The 1991 Provincial Convention of the ONDP failed to provide women and youth with autonomous structures. The resolutions priorities did not permit a discussion of tenants' issues. There was barely any discussion of plant shutdowns or socialist economic strategy despite the serious and ongoing effects of free trade and the recession. Human rights policies, the concerns of people of color, and native issues competed to get dealt with in the limited agenda time. And all the while, the Party leader intimated to us that as Premier of the Province he did not feel bound by Party policy. The tone was one of dampening expectations, of leaving it all to Parliament and Government. The choice before us is to go along with symbols or to press for substantial changes.

Speakers

Lennox Farrell: Member-at-Large of NDP Provincial Executive, Member of Black Advisory Committee, and leading activist in Black Action Defence Committee

Jason Baines: Membership Secretary of Ontario New Democratic Youth

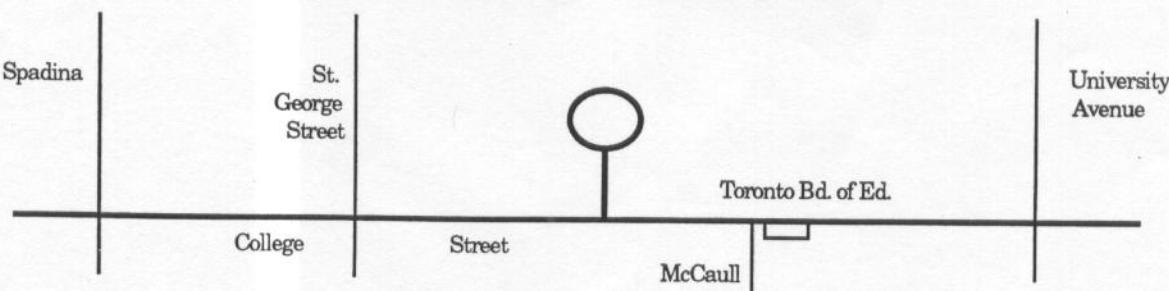
Margaret Jackson: President of Parkway Forest Tenants Association, Member-at-Large of Oriole NDP Executive

Sam Savona: Disabled Persons Advocate, St. Andrew-St. Patrick NDP

Carol Cayenne: Anti-Poverty advocate, NDP Scarborough City Council Candidate in 1988 Municipal Elections

Harry Kopyto: Executive Member of ONDP Left Caucus, Candidate for Member-at-Large at 1991 ONDP Conventions

Date: Friday, May 17, 1991
Time: 7:30 p.m. (sharp) to 10:30 p.m.
Place: Toronto Board of Education
155 College Street
(at McCaull)
Cafeteria



Forad in (1991)

VOTE SOCIALIST

HARRY KOPYTO FOR MEMBER AT LARGE

Harry Kopyto -- The Candidate

- Member of the NDP since he was 14, former member of the Waffle and executive member of the Steering Committee of the Left Caucus, member of St. Andrew-St. Patrick NDP
- Fighter for social justice in his role as a former lawyer -- *Damien* (first major gay rights case in Canada); *Wheel-Trans* (in defence of workers and the disabled); *RCMP* (prosecuting them for their dirty tricks against labor and the left); victims of police abuse (*Keeping, Myers, Newman*), labor cases, and the *Mount Cashel* victims of sexual abuse. Led the successful fight to include sexual orientation in the human rights codes.
- Victim of establishment harassment in the legal profession. Overturned the "scandalizing the court" contempt gag law for famous "Krazy-Glue" statement. Defended by International President of *Amnesty International* and the *Writers Union of Canada*. Targeted in million-dollar "forensic audit" by the Law Society. Despite Law Society's failure to establish fraud, unprecedented dissenting judgment backing him among the Law Society Benchers, and obvious prejudice and Star Chamber-type procedures, Kopyto was disbarred and his associate Angie Codina continues to be harassed by the Law Society.
- Currently appealing his disbarment on constitutional grounds which challenge the unfettered power of the Law Society to harass dissident lawyers.
- Author of numerous articles in the *Globe and Mail* and various journals.
- Kopyto supports convention resolutions that support increased public control and accountability of the legal system.

Harry is running on the Left Caucus Program

For an Independent and Socialist Canada

Ontario is sliding into an extended recession and de-industrialization of the economy -- the result of the Free Trade Agreement and a high interest (low dollar) policy designed to benefit continental corporations. The continentalization of the North American economy into a single free trade region, soon likely to include Mexico, is already draining away our best paying and highly skilled jobs in industries such as steel and auto parts. It is eroding the ability of governments to maintain social security measures. The recession is hurting the most vulnerable in our midst: youth and the old, women and minorities, tenants and students, the poor and the disabled. Businesses close their doors. Welfare rolls swell. The jobless walk the streets. Even wealthy Toronto has depression-style food banks and thousands of homeless. Yet the NDP holds provincial power for the first time in history, carrying the hopes and expectations of the people who elected us to protect them in this crisis of an uncaring capitalist system.

In the era of trade blocs and fierce trade competition, capitalism is leading us to permanently lowered living standards and chronic unemployment. Which road will lead us out of this morass? The Left Caucus believes that the current economic crisis calls for a bold initiative towards socialism, a democratic plan to take hold of our economic base before it is too late, and preserve what wealth still remains through a dynamic public planned economy. Then we can begin to keep the promises which won us power and maintain the credibility needed to make us the party of the future.

Socialist Measures to Combat De-industrialization and Unemployment

- For public ownership of businesses that are threatened by de-industrialization and recession.
- Give workers the option to co-own and manage runaway plants in cooperation with public authorities.
- For a strong public presence in the financial sector to allow government to implement low-cost credit.
- Establish workplace democracy through workers' self-management in crown and government corporations.

Social Justice for All!

- For a fully funded Human Rights Commission, accountable to those it is designed to protect and for the legalization of the right to sue for discrimination.
- For affirmative action programs and training to permit disabled persons, women, Natives and people of color proportionate representation at senior levels of administration in all government institutions.
- For an independent civilian board to investigate and review allegations of police abuse.

- For public participation in control of the legal profession to stop preferential treatment in favor of establishment lawyers (Lang/Michener, Outerbridge) and suppression of critically-minded lawyers (Kopyto, Codina).

For an Activist Party!

- For a party which recruits activists from the women's, antiwar, environmental, and anti-racist movements.
- For participation in these movements as New Democrats and building the NDP as the feminist, antiwar, anti-racist and environmentalist party of Ontario.
- For a strategy which combines support for the social movements with a strategy to win labor to power.

Support for NDP Municipal Campaigns!

- Encourage full NDP label municipal slates in cities and towns across Ontario.
- Support NDP mayoralty candidates to promote the concept of labor to power at the municipal level.

For a Labor-Socialist Press!

- Open up the **Ontario Democrat** to contributions from all the ridings and increase frequency of publication as a means of developing an informed and motivated grassroots party.
- Promote a public mass labor paper that challenges the monopoly of the Big Business press.

Environmental Action Now!

- Expropriate chronic corporate polluters.
- Allow workers to control health and safety issues on the shop floor.

For an Independent and Dynamic Youth Section!

- For a dynamic, autonomous youth movement which has the resources to win youth to the party.
- For Young New Democrats clubs in universities and high schools throughout Ontario.
- For a strong youth movement that can energize and inspire the party.

For Affordable and Plentiful Quality Housing!

- Keep the promise to cap rental increases to the rate of inflation.
- For mass, public-housing projects under residents' control to fight homelessness and poverty.

The NDP stands at a crossroads. If the landlords can invest thousands of dollars to tell New York bankers not to invest in Ontario in order to get the laws which they want to get passed, the NDP must be really committed to stand by the program which allowed it to win power. Socialism is no longer just a desirable idea. It is the solution to meet the burning crisis of our times. If we do not act now, there will be nothing left to save.

Join the List of Harry's Supporters!

Charles Roach, civil rights lawyer

Lois Bédard, Co-chairperson of Left Caucus
Zane Boyd, Fort York NDP

Kevin Robertson, Political Education
Chairperson -- CBRT Local 76
Paul Simon, Chairperson Black Advisory
Cttee

Bill Clinton, Scarborough-Agincourt NDP
Elizabeth Davies, Dovercourt NDP
Gord Doctorow, Vice-President Oriole NDP
and Co-chairperson of Left Caucus
Lennox Farrell, Black Action Defence Cttee
and former Oriole NDP candidate

Jeff Smith, Chairperson Glendon
Campus NDP
Muni Taub, St. Andrew-St. Patrick NDP
Dave Tomczak, Fort York NDP and former
Chairperson of Metro NDP

John Glenn, OPSEU supply teacher
Art Gray, Life Member Simcoe East NDP
Stan Gray
Verne and Anne Olsen, High Park-
Swansea NDP
Cecil Roach, Secretary of Oriole NDP

- NOMINATED BY ONDP LEFT CAUCUS
- ENDORSED BY ORIOLE NDP RIDING

1991

VOTE SOCIALIST HARRY KOPYTO FOR MEMBER AT LARGE

Harry is running on the Left Caucus Platform

- For an Independent and Socialist Canada
- Socialist Measures to Combat De-industrialization and Unemployment
- Social Justice for All!
- For an Activist Party
- Support for NDP Municipal Campaigns
- For a Labor-Socialist Press!
- Environmental Action Now
- For an Independent and Dynamic Youth Section!
- For Affordable and Available Quality Housing!

Harry's Endorsers

Maria Ugimeri, Metro Toronto Councillor	Mike Cooper, MPP
Ayub Ali, Pres. Agincourt NDP	Joe Crugnale, Pres. USWA Local 5328
Jim Anderson, Glendon College NDP	Margaret Cushing, Riverdale
John Bacher, St. Catharines	William Davidson, Vice-Pres. UFCW 114
Jason Baines, ONDY Membership Sec.	Elizabeth Davies, Dovercourt
John Ballantine, Sec. Scarborough East	Arthur Davis, V-P Parry Sound
Percy Barnswell, CAW Local 1285	Chris Davis, Exec. Simcoe Centre
Lois Bédard, Co-chairperson of Left Caucus	Degan Davis, Nipissing Youth Rep.
Allie Biggs, Carleton U. NDY Club	Victor Dean, Scarb. North - S. Asian Ccl
John Bishop, Ottawa Centre	Cecil Devine, CAW 27 -- London
Ron Bobker, Hamilton Centre	Raj Dhaliwal, CAW Local 112
Joe Boissonneault, Ottawa Univ. Club	Harry Dhanda, Rec. Sec. -- USWA Loc. 8505
Zane Boyd, Fort York	Gord Doctorow, Vice-President Oriole NDPMike
Bernie Brothers, PAC USWA	Karen Dunbar, Dovercourt
Angela Browne, Pres. St. Catharines-Brock	Dunlop, Essex-Kent
Bruce Bryden, Beaches-Woodbine	Peter Ehnalt, Caroline Co-op
Diane Bull, Beaches-Woodbine	Dave Hanna, Local 46
Vera Bullen, Simcoe East	Bernie Koenig, CFO London Centre
Alex Bustus, Nepean	Sue Koenig, London Centre
Elizabeth Byce, Fort York, CUPW	Lennox Farrell, Black Action Defence Cttee
Ann Byrne, Eglinton	Alex Fishgal, High Park-Swansea
Pascal Calaico, Univ. of Western Ont. Club	Tim Fullner, Exec. Kenora
Peter Cassidy, V-P Wentworth East	Jean Ghaneshi York Univ. ONDY
Ed Cauchi, Durham Centre	John Glenn, OPSEU supply teacher
Don Chase, Exec. Windsor Riverside	Cecil Gooding, Mississauga West
Ivan Chevrier, USWA Local 5762	Terry Gorman, CAW
Glenn-Paul Chomniak, Durham West	Art Gray, Life Member Simcoe East NDP
Bill Chord, Exec. Member -- Halton North	Stan Gray
George Chow, CAW Local 1967	Colin Greenridge, CUPE 1750 H & S Rep.
Pat Clancy	Jeff Greenspoon, Algoma-Manitoulin
Keith Cleveland, Bruce	Lloyd Greenspoon, Algoma-Manitoulin
Bill Clinton, Scarborough-Agincourt	Ben Gretzinger, St. Catharines
Angie Codina, St. Andrew-St. Patrick	Ted Hallin, Sault Ste. Marie
Anne Cohen, Beaches-Woodbine	
Heather Cooper, Kitchener-Wilmott	

OVER

Dick Harrington, Memb. Sec. Niagara Falls	Al Radecki, Frontenac
Doug Harvey, Durham West	Barry Ramsbottom, Hastings-Peterborough
Asdollah Hashemi, Riverdale	Cecil Roach, Secretary of Oriole NDP
Rosalyn Hazelle, Brampton-South	Charles Roach, civil rights lawyer
Joshua Hodgson, Scarborough Centre	Kevin Robertson, CBRT Local 76
Lana Hollingsworth, Halton Centre	Joyce Rosenthal, Etobicoke-Humber
Tim Holls-Harrison, Owen Sound	Pearl Rotter, Ottawa East, Wom Cttee Exec.
Allie Irvine, Pres. Carleton NDY	Ari Rozin, Oriole
Margaret Jackson, Pres. Parkway Forest Tenants Ass.	Kirpo Rom Sabaharwal, USWA Local 3335
John Johnson, Exec. Member Dovercourt	Iona Samis, Exec. Member Eglinton
Chai Kalevar, Oakwood	Gilad Samuel, Markham
Jeanette Keenan, Riverdale	Sam Savona, St. Andrew-St. Patrick
Goetz Koechlin, Dufferin-Peel	Mike Seaward, President USWA Local 8412
Jean Kowdewsi, Beaches-Woodbine	Francis Sermenio, Etobicoke-Humber
Nancy Kugler, Vice-Pres. St. A & P	Gary Shillington, Halton Centre
Demerise Lafleur, Exec. Member Riverdale	Steve Shorter, Willowdale
James Lockhart, Exec. Kitchener	Bill Signal, Exec. Scarborough East
Steve Lough, Sandwich-Windsor	Paul Simon, Chair Black Advisor Cttee
Shawn Lucas, Exec. U. of Guelph NDP	Jan Sindrey, Scarborough Centre
Kirk Lumsden, Exec. St. Catharines	Jeff Smith, Chair Glendon Campus NDP
Martha MacDonald, Brampton North	Helen Sontek, Welland-Thorold
A. Majumder, Rec Sec USWA Loc 8991	Gerry St. Jacques, Etobicoke-Lakeshore
Randy Manning, Pres. Etobicoke-Humber	Joe Steinbok, Oriole
Tony Mancini, Rec. Sec. USWA 2251	Lois M. Stuart, Riverdale
Nick Marchese, Memb Sec -- Dovercourt	Fred Sukdeo, Yorkview
James Massiah, OPSEU Local 595	Leonard Swartz, H & S Rep. CAW Local 673
Rob Maule, OWNDP	Muni Taub, St. Andrew-St. Patrick
Robert Mawhinney, Exec. -- St. A & P	Lennox Thompson, Exec. Brampton South
Malcolm McKeil, Beaches-Woodbine	Dave Tomczak, Fort York
Troy McKenzie, Nickel Belt, V-P Youth	Alma Wall, OPEIU Rep, Kenora
Gail McMillen, Burlington South	Bill Weatherup, Plumbers Local 46
Diane Meaghan, Pres. -- Don Valley North	Barry Weisleder, Pres. OPSEU 595
Gerry Miller, Prov. Ccl Del -- Brant-Hald.	Robert West, Exec. Member St. Catharines
Keith Miller, Carleton East	Fred Wilson, CAW Local 67
Lina Miragua, Exec. Dovercourt NDP	Walter Wodchis, Rexdale
Felcity Monize, Willowdale, Wom. Cttee	Douglas Wolfe, U. of T. NDP
Robin Montgomery, Peterborough	Bob Wood, Burlington South
Dan Moore, Carleton NDY Lab. Rel. Coord.	Ronnie Yaron, Fort York
Lora Moretti, Memb. Sec. Oriole NDP	John Young, Beaches-Woodbine
Burnett Morgan, Moulders Union Local 28	Thomas Young, Peterborough Prov Ccl Del
Gene Morosan, Past Pres. -- Quinte NDP	
Marcella Munro, Exec. Ottawa Centre	
John Murphy, CUPE Local 1000	
Taras Natyshak, Belle River NDY	
Barbara Naumann, V-P Frontenac-Add.	
Jim Neill, Kingston and the Islands	
Darryl Newbory, Kingston and the Islands	
Robert Norman, Fort York	
Verne & Anne Olsen, High Park-Swansea	
David Onyalo, CUPE Local 1	
John Orrett, York Centre Prov. Ccl Del.	
Gordon Osborne, ONDY	
Gareth Park, Exec. Member Peterborough	
John Parry, former MP Kenora-Rainy River	
Chris Pitcher, Exec. Plumbers Local 46	

- Nominated by ONDP LEFT CAUCUS
- ENDORSED BY ORIOLE NDP RIDING

NORTHERN LIGHTS

SUMMER 1991

A NEWS LETTER FROM:
The Scarborough North Provincial Riding Association and
The Scarborough-Rouge River Federal Riding Association of
The New Democratic Party of Canada

IN THIS ISSUE

Anniversary Celebration

ONDp Left Caucus Meeting Report

A word from our Vice President

Garage Sale Success

Lucy Maud Montgomery School Opening

A THOUGHT

*"Politics ain't worrying
this country one-tenth
as much as where to
find a parking space."*

Will Rogers

HAPPY ANNIVERSARY!

AT THE METRO TORONTO ZOO

September 7, 1991 will be the first anniversary of the Ontario NDP Election Victory of 1990. For this occasion the Party is organizing a big NDP FUN DAY at the Metro Toronto Zoo.

Imagine a full day of games, prizes, good food, NDP souvenir shopping... But this is only half the fun: you get to see all your favourite animals in one of the best Zoos in the world. Best of all, all this is in our City of Scarborough. You have no excuse to miss this wonderful event.

Scarborough North New Democrats, your Provincial NDP Riding Association, and Scarborough-Rouge River New Democrats, your Federal NDP Riding Association, will both be present with their own booths. All the ridings in Ontario

have been invited to set up a booth. Most of them will have special commemorative items for sale. There will also be a beer tent and a special area for food. Come and sample ethnic specialties, home baked goods, etc.

Buy tickets early and save!

Admission to the zoo that day for people holding special NDP admission tickets is only \$8.00 per person (normal is \$8.50). If you pay in advance the price is \$7.00 (and... you get an extra door prize stub). The next edition of the New Democrat will contain a full page ad with 5 special tickets attached to it. Don't miss it!

By the way, one of the "door prizes" is a vacation for two in the Caribbean... Think about it.

ONDp LEFT CAUCUS FORUM

When: 17 May 1991

Location: Board of Education Cafeteria,
155 College Street
(Changed from announced location
of Sanford Fleming Lecture
Theatre due to CUPE strike.)

The meeting opened at 7:50 P.M. with a welcome from Lois Bédard, co-chair of the Left Caucus. Approximately 15 people were present. Lois briefly set out the format for the evening and then introduced the first speaker, Lennox Farrell, Member-at-

Large of the NDP Provincial Executive, Member of Black Advisory Committee, and leading activist in Black Action Defense Committee.

Lennox spoke of the recent Bay Street Anti-budget demonstrations and efforts of landlords' groups to defeat rent-control legislation, describing them as issues of empowerment. These protesters, he stated, may not understand the limitations of power but do understand the uses of it. Lennox commented on the present sense of disarray and disempowerment on the Left,

and warned that we must brace ourselves for resistance.

He next turned to the budget, which he felt to be an ideological one. It is anti-monetarist and anti-Reagan and Thatcher, and could be compared to the Jamaican economic stances of 1975-76. Also, he stated, the response of the capitalist press has been an ideological response.

Lennox advised that we have to stop being apologetic for being socialist, and that the socialist left must support this

Continued on page 2

CAUCUS CONTINUED...

budget in order to move the Party further to the left. Also, we must remember that when the Liberals or Tories are in power, they spend no time trying to assess our perspective, and similarly we must learn from the experience of Michael Manley in Jamaica and not concentrate on appeasement of bankers, landlords, etc.

The next speaker was Jason Baines, Membership Secretary of Ontario New Democratic Youth. Jason outlined some of the most recent accomplishments of the ONDY, citing especially the resolutions passed at this year's convention concerning tuition fee freezing and abolition of the student minimum wage. He announced that groups of young trade unionists will soon be allowed to affiliate with ONDY, and that ONDY will continue to fight for improvements in the situation of young people, as well as on more wide-ranging issues such as government cuts in transfer payments, unemployment insurance, etc. Jason also argued on behalf of continuing support for the present government, but noted that the Party really has no agenda to change capitalism.

Lois next introduced Margaret Jackson, President of Parkway Forest Tenants Association and Member-at-Large of Oriole NDP Executive. She spoke of tenants' many disappointments with Dave Cooke, citing especially the holding of closed meetings, or meetings at times that residents have found very awkward to attend. She described Bill 4 as not being comprehensive enough, not allowing, for example, for the government to step in and purchase buildings when there is a dispute over the cost of renovations. Margaret reminded the meeting that the original idea of apartments was to allow people to save for their own homes, but now many people can scarcely manage to pay their

rents and have lost all hope of ever purchasing a home.

Unfortunately, Sam Savona, Disabled Persons Advocate, St. Andrew-St. Patrick NDP was not able to attend the meeting, so the next panelist was Carol Cayenne, Anti-Poverty advocate and NDP Scarborough City Council Candidate in the 1988 Municipal Elections. Carol spoke of the recent budget as the most important budget in the history of Ontario, given all the work that had been done on poverty issues by supporters of the NDP. She stated that the Minister of Social Services and Minister of Housing do not understand what it is like to go to food banks, wait for a welfare check, or not be able to get out of the welfare system. This

is a reflection of the fact that there are indeed levels within the Party and we must acknowledge this.

Carol noted that there is something wrong when unionists donate to food banks and the government donates \$1 million to food banks.

There is also something wrong with our educational system in that it was set up a very long time ago for farmers, not for single mothers. She explained that she is not in favour of increasing welfare payments without giving people the tools to get out. The power, Carol stated, does not lie in Queen's Park but in all of us joining together. She wondered about the tools our government is using to bring about change, questioning whether they are their own or those of the previous government. Because of this, she agreed with earlier speakers that we have to be behind the government. It will

"Original idea of apartments was to allow people to save for their own home."

"...a socialist world does not mean that people will have everything they want..."

be vital for the NDP to win a second term in order to have enough time to implement their plans.

Harry Kopyto, Executive Member of ONDP Left Caucus and 1991 ONDP Candidate for Member-at-Large, was also unable to attend the meeting, and was substituted for by Gord Doctorow, co-chair of ONDP Left Caucus. Gord reviewed the contributions of the previous speakers, then turned to further comments on how we are faced with an international recession

and a restructuring of world markets, and how we are being asked to compete against the workers of other countries. Trading blocs are being formed to pool populations, acquire a larger market, and, in North America, to shift plants southward. In this state of continental capitalism, Gord described the NDP as a fly in the ointment. He warned, however, that the NDP cannot hope to succeed without mobilising the working class, native people, women, tenants, etc. He reminded us of what happened when Dave Barrett, as Premier of British Columbia, tried to tax the mining companies, who responded by mobilising the miners against the government. Gord stated that the recent Caterpillar occupation showed the changing pattern of class forces, and closed by reiterating the Left Caucus stand that there can be no compromise between continental capitalism and an independent socialist Canada.

Gord described the NDP as a fly in the ointment.

explained that each issue of the Newsletter costs \$900, and if it is to become a useful

Continued on page 3

CAUCUS CONTINUED...

focus of our ideas, more money must be raised. A collection was taken from those present, and all were encouraged to contribute whenever they could.

The next portion of the programme dealt with questions and comments from the floor. Gilles Daigle led off with a reference to the question of technology as presented in the 1983 Left Caucus Manifesto. He spoke of the need to consider the place of education in the transition to socialism, noting that a socialist world does not mean that people will have everything they want, nor that everyone will have a job. Almost all people in the world will, in fact, have to get used to a lower standard of living if the planet is to survive. Lennox Farrell responded that he was in full agreement, stating that he wanted to live in "a world with options", where women have power, and where people understand what racism does. He spoke of how the Caribbean countries, thirty years after independence, are poorer and thoroughly worse off than before. The question of education must redirect people to think globally and act locally. Or, as Lennox stated, "The same people who bring the death squads into Guatemala bring the dioxins into my water." Further response from the floor noted that what

corporations have done is generate unbelievable quantities of wealth, which are now totally meaningless. This money is not in the hands of people but of corporations, and goes around the world finding a place where it can be invested.

The next comment from the floor highlighted the need for a weekly socialist workers' newspaper. This would allow us to come to the defence of the NDP government, whereas the capitalist press is now uniformly against its efforts.

Another comment concerned the fact that industry has diverted the attention of working-class people by encouraging small-scale ecological action while not doing anything itself. The contributor added that the present Ontario government must be seen as part of a larger working-class movement.

Bob Olsen of Basic Poverty Action then made several announcements concerning publications and upcoming events. Them homeless people of Toronto have finally succeeded in setting up a meeting with Dave Cooke. Also, a 6-day series of demonstrations is currently being planned to coincide with the Tory convention in Toronto on August 6 - 11. There is, as well, an excellent publication available from the Jesuit Centre called "You and Me and the GST."

The panelists next provided brief closing statements. Jason noted that the

government is not putting forward a radical socialist programme and this is likely to lead their defeat in the next election. We have to say that we are campaigning for NDP party policy: it is not the policy that is bad; the problem is that the government is not implementing it. Lennox stated that we on the left in this country travel on the back of the bus, but noted that we do not even want to be on the same bus. He felt it vitally important to have an organ to communicate and discuss ideas such as those put forward tonight. We live in dangerous times, but must believe in the possibilities of economic growth, decency, and a world where truth is more important than public relations. Carol added that in western societies, children grow up not being part of adult considerations, and we have to start changing what we teach to our children. We are now spending billions of dollars to do what our grandparents did automatically and this too must change. Gord then outlined three tasks that he felt had been defined by the night's discussions: working on the New Democrat, which has become an in-house document rather than a forum for differing views; working towards the establishment of a labour newspaper; and setting up an organisational form or coalition of left forces. To aid in these tasks, we must aim towards a conference by the end of the year.

A WORD FROM SCARBOROUGH NORTH...

I have heard, indeed, that two negatives make an affirmative: but I never heard that two nothings ever made anything, I refer of course to Brian Mulroney and Jean Chretien.

An army which has been in battle for a long time, and feels the tide turning in its favour, does not choose this moment to sit down and picnic. Instead, exhilarated and strengthened by partial success, it presses

on with renewed fervour to ultimate victory — and so must we. The promise of the campaign is that Riding-minded supporters and volunteers empowered by this opportunity can make a genuine difference.

The message is clear, we have to dig in our heels for another offensive, we must work harder and throw our efforts into the next couple of years as we never

have before.

Please support fundraising events that will be focused in Northern Lights in the near future. With your help, much was accomplished in 1990. We can do even more in 1991 — if we have you with us.

Joyce Field-Schopfer
Vice-President, Scarborough North &
Scarborough Rouge River.

LUCY MAUD MONTGOMERY SCHOOL

OPEN HOUSE

On Thursday, May 9, 1991, Lucy Maud Montgomery Public School was officially opened. The school has housed students since October of 1990 and is located at 95 Murison Blvd. in Scarborough.

An elaborate ceremony commenced with one's arrival of signing the commemorative book and walking through the trestle of lilies into the world of Prince Edward Island.

The main foyer housed the memorabilia and books, including a donated first edition of Mrs. Montgomery's novels and works.

The school was decorated in the fashion of Green Gables, especially the second floor which focused on the character's locales, such as the Barry farm.

The ceremony lasted one and a half hours and took place in the spacious auditorium/gymnasium.

In attendance and participants in the ceremony were Ron Ullman, Principal of Lucy Maud Montgomery P.S., David McDonald, grandson of Lucy Maud Montgomery, Linda Nice, President of the L.M.M. Parent's Association, John

Corpes, President of the Brick, Jim A. Mackay, Trustee, Mr. P. Kennington, Principal of Burrows Hall (which housed L.M.M. students until last October in conjunction with Berner Trail, David Warner, speaker for the House of Commons, Queen's Park and Joyce Trimmer, Mayor of Scarborough and Edith Montgomery, Mun. Council.

As part of the proceedings, dramatic scenes were focused on Lucy Maud Montgomery's memoirs. A wonderful video was made and presented to the school on Lucy Maud's Life and Works. A Prince Edward Island Flag was presented to the school by Mr. P. Kennington. The Brick donated their second commissioned sculpture by Angelo Belluz of "Anne of Green Gables."

A reception hosted by L.M.M. Parent's Association followed, held in "Anne's Tea Room" (The school cafeteria decorated lavishly like a Green Gables social tea)

It was a magnificent evening and was attended by Cathy Crawford, membership secretary for Scarborough North.



There was plenty of fun and lots of deals to be found at our 1st annual garage sale. From left to right: Joyce Field, Cathy Crawford, Ashley Crawford and Gilles Daigle.

SUCCESS!

GARAGE SALE

It's not easy to ask people to get up early on their day off, but the executive of Scarborough North and Scarborough Rouge River rose to the occasion and were up at dawn to set up for the garage sale held at Jim McAllister's residence. Starting at 8 a.m., Saturday May 4, under a sunny sky, sales were brisk and kept the executive hopping.

Electronic gadgets, books, kitchen wares, drapes, clothing, coffee and muffins were the "hot items" for sale. New hand-crafted goods were donated and gave the displays colour and pizazz.

Local children came with their nickels and dimes and had a great time making deals with the sales team. A gentleman purchased a winter coat, later he returned with some change he had found in the pocket of the coat, he must be a member of the N.D.P., honest and forthright.

Operation clean-up started at 2 p.m., leftover goods were donated to a registered charity. Sales proceeds of \$355.02 were turned over to the outstretched hands of the treasurer.

Joyce Field



When she's not attending open house ceremonies or garage sales, our membership secretary Cathy Crawford can be spotted cheerfully recruiting new members. Cathy helped raise over \$1000 in our PAC membership drive this summer.

June 14, 1991

Dear Friend,

Thank you for signing the Left Caucus mailing list at the NDP Convention June 6-9, 1991 at Halifax, Nova Scotia.

The Left Caucus does more than circulate literature at conventions -- we try to engage in actions, both through the ridings and the movements our supporters are involved in, to put the NDP on the cutting edge of the class struggle.

The issues that confront socialists in these time of economic and social crises are numerous -- plant shutdowns, social service cutbacks and unemployment. New Democrats can play a role in promoting local struggles around these and other issues in addition to our electoral activities.

The Left Caucus has members on its mailing list from every province and the Yukon Territories. We would be pleased to hear about activities in which you are involved, whether it be a public forum on plant shutdowns or actions in defence of Aboriginal rights. We will be happy to circulate copies of selections from your report to Caucus readers across the province. We would also be happy to supply you with names of persons who have shown ~~an~~ interest in the Left Caucus in your area in the event that you might wish to explore the possibilities of coordinating efforts.

The implicit retreat of the party from some of its current economic positions, such as public ownership of a major bank, witnessed at the last federal convention, suggest the party is unfocused in its economic policies. With the impact of the Free Trade Deal undermining our industrial base, the sovereignty of our country and its ability to maintain or develop a rounded economy is at stake. Thus, both the idea of socialism and the activities of socialists have never been more important.

Please keep in touch to let us know what you are doing and exchange your experiences and views with us.

Yours for socialism

Lois Bedard

Co-Chairperson
Left Caucus Steering Committee

August 20, 1991

Lois Bedard
1501-40 Homewood,
Toronto, Ontario
M4Y - 2K2

Dear Lois:

As you are aware, there is a debate under way in the party about its future direction and orientation. To quote from a recent N.D.P. party paper in which N.D.P. Ontario Premier Bob Rae writes:

"Are we prepared to examine some of our own assumptions and premises, our basic values, and assess not simply their social or economic justness, but their ecological integrity as well?"
(p.i, Preface, "Greening the Party, Greening the Province: A vision for the Ontario NDP")

In the following I wish to first, briefly lay-out my understanding of what needs to be done in order to restore the vitality of socialist thinking and practice.

The forces of traditional socialism are in a greatly weakened state--which the election of an N.D.P government may help to reverse: at any rate, the vitality of socialism cannot be reduced to that of the electoral fortunes of the N.D.P. Rather, the N.D.P., and forces traditionally associated with it--principally those of organized labour movement--need to join with those of the Green movement. To not do this would leave the N.D.P. at the tender mercies of Conrad Black and his minions in the business community.

This raises many questions, namely, what is the Green movement and on what basis can red and green forces join?

Socialism and The N.D.P.:

Firstly, it is necessary to state where the N.D.P. stands. Its practical politics are Keynesian, that is, the continuation of policies which encourage aggregate demand, the basis of the N.D.P.'s recent deficit budget; its ideology, a non-Marxist socialism or social-democracy. Politically, it wishes to maintain

the capitalist system albeit in a more managed form, identifying Swedish social-democracy as the best form of socialism.

The N.D.P. rejects any thorough going analysis of capitalism as such, its policies not organized on any consistent ideologic basis except that of Keynesian liberalism combined with some provisions for state nationalization--and even that has been recently dropped.

Would Green politics change any of that? Why? And on what basis?

Socialism and the Green Movement:

Karl Marx, a chief socialist theoretician, anticipated much of the Green criticism concerning the management of the earth's resources. To quote:

"....all progress in capitalistic agriculture is a progress in the art, not only of robbing the labourer, but of robbing the soil; all progress in increasing the fertility of the soil for a given time, is a progress towards ruining the lasting sources of that fertility....Capitalist production, therefore, develops technology, and the combining together of various processes into a social whole, only by sapping the original sources of all wealth--the soil and the labourer." (p.475, Capital, Volume One)

Green criticism of, for example, agribusiness is really a criticism of capitalist agriculture; the Green's criticism of the rapacious, abusive treatment of the earth and its resources a critique of humankind's exploitative and dominating relationship to Nature of which capitalism is the example (although, historically, not the only example) **par excellence**. To eliminate the sapping of the original sources of all wealth means to eliminate the source of exploitation and domination both between human beings, that is to say, socially, and between humankind and nature, the grounds, both literally and metaphorically, of human society. Or, in Green terms, human society must recognize the larger society of the planet and all of its life forms--the biotic community--as the whole for which human society is but one part.

What effect, potentially, would Green thinking have on the N.D.P.? The short answer is this: it would force the N.D.P. to return to the roots of its socialist thinking; it would force the N.D.P. to become more radical.

If socialism means the end of all exploitation and oppression which practically means the end of capitalism, then capitalism cannot be managed--any more than pollution can be managed, or the destruction of the ozone layer can be managed or black lung disease can be managed.

Working people must own and manage the major means of production in order for humankind to have a non-exploitative and non-dominating relationship with Nature; the historical mission for a green-proletariat. Only working people can steward the Earth in a consistent, global way. The political-economic expression for this is socialist-ecology.

When we get together, I would be more than happy to elucidate these points.
Yours truly,

David Ross 1711-2350 Dundas St. West. Tor. Ont., M6P 4B1, 535-1334

(Found in 1991)

THE YORK UNIVERSITY NDP ASSOCIATION

105 CENTRAL SQUARE

4700 KEELE STREET

DOWNSVIEW, ONTARIO M3J 1P3

YORK NEW DEMOCRATS

FOR A SOCIALIST CANADA

For Democratic Socialism

Democratic socialism has two parts: (1) socialism, which demands change that will lead to equality and fairness in our society; and (2) democracy, which recognizes that these changes can only occur if they can become the belief of the majority. Socialism and democracy cannot separately lead to an egalitarian world.

We in the York University New Democrats seek democratic socialism. We are part of the majority in Canada, and the world, who suffer from inequality of opportunity. People who suffer from sexism, racism, unemployment and poverty - chiefly as a product of the global corporate capitalist order within which we live. This majority is divided and largely apathetic about challenging societal disparities. As democratic socialists we act to change that. On any issue, where we succeed in doing so, positive change happens. This is our goal for York University and the surrounding community, in accordance with the world-wide aims of the Socialist International.

The York New Democrats believe that the New Democratic Party (general) platform must be rooted in democratic, socialist, and feminist policies, including:

No Recriminalization of Abortion

Unrestricted reproductive choice for women, including full and equal access to abortion services.

Canada's Withdrawal from NATO and NORAD

An unequivocal policy of withdrawal from military alliances. An independent foreign policy based on unilateral disarmament and an end to complicity with imperialist intervention in Central America and around the world.

Quebec's Right to Self-Determination

A commitment to Quebec's national rights, including defense of the French language and culture in Quebec. Support for Quebec's right to create institutions of self-government and control of their own political and economic destinies.

agrees

Expansion of Public Ownership - Stopping Privatization and Unemployment

Support extra-parliamentary coalitions with unions and women's organizations against privatization of basic public services like Via Rail and Canada Post. Expand the public sector and legislate the shorter work week, to create secure jobs and reverse the trend under the Free Trade Agreement towards cheap unorganized part-time labour.

Protection of the Environment

Socialist planning of economic development under workers' and community control, is the only way to combat corporate and government profit-driven environmental destruction.

Fighting Racism; Defense of Aboriginal Rights

Lead a campaign against racist violence and prejudice against immigrants and visible minorities. Defense of aboriginal rights including genuine self-government based on a swift settlement of all outstanding land claims.

Gay and Lesbian Rights

Speak out against sexual stereotyping, attacks on gays, and for custody rights for lesbian mothers and gay men.

We believe that the issues above are fundamental to building an active democratic socialist party - and movement - in Canada in the 1990s. Join the struggle!

Contact the York New Democrats through our mailbox in Central Square, or attend our meetings each thursday at 5:00pm in RS101A.

Rai speakers Phil + Peace movement.

Charlene Gannage • 736-5498
588-2595

BMS Cite
BMS 4838591

re:

660-6466

Diane (De Vito's manager)

Malv
Stockton 69

Lenny
21015

1991: The NDP – A BALANCE SHEET

(*Found in the Forward Group–Left Caucus archives – author unknown*)

More than one year after working people elected the NDP to power in Ontario in a dramatic and unexpected move to protect their interests in the then incipient recession, the government is under severe attack, sinking in the polls and rifting without a clear focus. Only a wide-ranging discussion within all bodies of the party can reassert membership control over the decision-making process within the party and set the government back on course.

The decision of the government to abandon its commitment to public auto insurance – a centrepiece in its election platform during the last three elections — has precipitated the current crisis. The retreat from this commitment was hammered through cabinet and then the parliamentary caucus without consultation with the party rank-and-file. This decision lost the NDP significant credibility with the public at large, and put the Rae government in the awkward position of being the recipient of promises not to criticise it by the Liberals and Tories.

Much of the harm caused by the leadership's flip-flop could have been avoided by broad consultation with party members, many of whom rightly felt betrayed that the same policy that won it such popular support in three other provinces and which big business governments feared to dismantle, was abandoned by edict from above. Even more astonishing was Bob Rae's assertion that the issue would not be "revisited" during his term of office . an assertion that once again preempted discussion within the party and that went beyond the fondest hopes of Rae's critics.

No doubt, the Rae leadership's strategy is to assuage the business community whose aggressive attitude has resulted in an advertisement by Ontario's development industry in the *New York Times* calling for a capital boycott, in industrialist Conrad Black's decision not to expand his empire in Ontario to punish workers for voting for the NDP, in a massive propaganda campaign by the insurance industry against public auto insurance and in demonstrations organized by the Bay Street barons against the NDP's decision to refrain from cutbacks in social services and lay-offs of government employees in its budget.

There was an alternative to surrender before the battle had even begun in earnest. The hue and cry over loss, of jobs and start-up costs for implementing public auto insurance could have been met with rational and convincing arguments. The money itself needed to implement the scheme was to be amortized over several years by loans secured with a government guarantee at a low interest rate. Workers threatened with

redundancy by the takeover could have been absorbed into public positions opened by attrition. The estimated 750 million dollars in annual premium savings in insurance payments would have itself alone generated thousands of new jobs with a greater benefit to society than positions maintained only as a result of unnecessary duplication and inefficiency. Most tellingly, the insurance industry's bluff could have been called just as it was exposing its hand through the decision of Crown Life to abandon 1,300 jobs in its flight to Saskatchewan (ironically seduced by guarantees of public financial backing from a Tory Government).

The *modus operandi* of the Rae leadership, its arrogant preemption of any input from the membership, its refusal to tolerate criticism from within the government or party, and its tendency to treat the membership as a cheering section, hurt the party, demoralized the membership, left the NDP open to charges of abandoning its principles and whetted rather than satiated the appetite of big business. It is making it more difficult for the party to consolidate its roots, build confidence and trust among those who voted for the party for the first time as a party of principle accountable to working people, not to speak of those who wanted to stop the insurance ripoffs of drivers by outrageous premiums.

The retreat on this issue is the culmination of a process that may soon become irreversible. Varsity Corporation was allowed to move its headquarters to Buffalo, eliminating industrial jobs as the NDP "won" a severance payment package. British Gas was allowed to take over Consumers Gas without the option of public ownership to which the NDP was committed even being considered. Strict rental controls allowing increases based only on inflation were replaced by a scheme which allows landlords to pass on various costs. Employment equity promises vanished into thin air. Finally, the promise that would have enabled the NDP to pay for many of the commitments in its Agenda for People platform – a minimum tax on corporations, an inheritance tax on estates valued over one million dollars and a speculation tax on non-principal residences have all been shelved — leaving the rich in their privileged position while food banks proliferate, homeless shuffle the streets at night and youth face a bleak future.

The Rae leadership hopes to ride out the recession while acting as a broker between different competing interests. The tripartite mentality that has so far inspired the NDP leadership — the desire to make business and labor work together and compromise — has run into the reality that big business through the federal government is eroding Canada's industrial base in favour of integration into

the U.S. economy where benefits of scale and profits abound. Big business has no loyalty to the interests of Canadian working people — only to its profit margins.

The recession has created permanent structural changes which have sucked 300,000 jobs — the best paying, unionized positions — out of Ontario to the U.S.A. The case of Algoma Steel, which provides 80% of the structural steel for the Canadian market, illustrates the dead-end facing brokerage politics. The deal worked out under the aegis of the government to trade jobs and pay for keeping the company alive will undermine the union, leave thousands of workers unemployed, have a major destabilizing effect on economic infrastructure of Sault Ste. Marie, reduce the standard of living of the workforce and do nothing to solve the long-term changes that are turning industrial centres into ghost towns.

The task before the NDP is not to show that it is efficient, clever, mature or sophisticated enough to negotiate compromises between opposing social forces or capable of introducing technological innovations and increase workplace efficiency, but rather to show that it can place the public interest above private profit. Ontario remains a rich source of raw resources. The processing of these resources into manufactured products such as auto parts is economically logical. A trained and disciplined work force presently exists which can do the job. There is even a market for products suited to the Canadian consumer – the production of cars suited for our cold climate, permafrost buildings, skidoos and similar products. It is logical that production of these products should be adjacent to this market. Our farmers should not have to buy Caterpillar tractors in the United States when a ready market exists for them in Ontario. However, the maintenance of our resource extraction and mining industries, the development of manufacturing jobs and the stabilization of a consumer market — all needed to implement a Canada-centered industrial strategy — are the precise targets of the Mulroney offensive. There is only one way to protect our resources, maintain our industries, avoid the dispersal of our urban centres and maintain a geographical continuum between regions of production and consumption. An industrial strategy which places the public interest over private profit is sorely needed to resolve our current economic crisis.

Such an industrial strategy based on planning in the interests of society as a whole is absent in the government's plans and

projections. Such a strategy would naturally complement the progressive thrust of the Agenda for People which elected us to power and ensure our ability to fulfill our programs and promises. It can win back those who have lost hope in our government, dismissing us as just another opportunist party.

Such a plan would have to be implemented under the democratic control of the communities and workers that would be affected by it. Their participation would overcome the isolation and lack of solidarity that workers are experiencing as they see their best jobs disappear and their futures full of uncertainty. The Caterpillar workers who occupied their plant in Mississauga symbolize a combativity that can be effectively harnessed behind such a plan. In the balance sheet which must be drawn at this point, we must begin to ask ourselves what we plan to leave the people in four years time if we do not give working people control over their lives. The rejection of our counterparts in Sweden in their last election indicates that socialism must mean more than pension plans and welfare schemes. The multiplication of public programs by SAP (*in Sweden*) did nothing to wrest control of the economy from the five major industrialist and financier families that dominate it.

The seige against the government can only be lifted by mobilizing NDP supporters behind the vision that can win back confidence in the NDP. There are alternative options. Every organ of the NDP has to be open to discuss the best way to defend our government. A full and open discussion would enable those who are most integrated into the different movements and communities in Ontario to have an input into the decisions being made by the government. Only as a result of such a discussion, where all sectors of the party will exchange their experiences and perspectives, can the government reknit its links to the those who elected it. We can regain the confidence of the people of Ontario. We can develop a strategy which can mobilize the members and supporters of our party in defence of the program that elected us. We can retake the initiative seized by the business community in its massive assault launched against the government. Socialism is no longer merely a desirable goal – it is the only practical solution to the burning issues of our times.

(end)

Elect NDP Municipal Governments on November 12.

S Working people in Toronto have the opportunity to wrest control of City Hall from the developers and other corporate interests that presently dominate the municipality. On November 12, the election of NDP councillors, trustees and mayoralty candidates throughout Metro and the city will mark a giant step in staving off the assault on our quality of life.

C Many cities and towns throughout Ontario are fast approaching a state of crisis. Food-banks have become a daily necessity for thousands of Torontonians who do not have enough money left over from rent to feed themselves and their children. Our best jobs are fast disappearing and the construction industry is in crisis. Proud working people are now being forced to line up for public handouts. The federal Conservative government has capped welfare payments; hospital beds are being closed; cuts in unemployment benefits and family allowances have placed an unmanageable strain on already limited municipal financial resources; there are enough homeless persons wandering the streets to fill a city the size of Barrie.

E Home owners continue to see high increases in their property taxes and the waiting lists for subsidized day care spaces grow longer month by month. Standards of maintenance of public housing are deteriorating and have almost become deplorable.

P Secret protocols between the Special Investigation Unit and senior police officials, and cover-ups at the Office of the

U Public Complaints Commissioner of serious complaints against police officers have done little to address the problem of rampant abuse by powerful and unrepentantly racist minorities in the ranks of the municipal police forces.

D This assault on working people and their most powerless members--women, minorities, immigrants, the young and the old--is no accident. The current recession is a result in large part of the restructuring of trade relations in the interests of U.S. manufacturers without regard to its effect on Canadian workers.

I Through their control of the marketplace, of interest rates and with the power to decide whether to and where to invest their capital, the economic elite already wields dictatorial power over the lives of millions of working people.

N Without control of federal and municipal levels of government, working people lack the vital levers needed to resist the cutbacks being forced on them and to defend and protect their interests. The provincial government alone cannot take the measures necessary to protect the interests of working people. The Ontario government is under severe pressure from insurance companies, major developers and big financiers. Conrad Black and his Bay Street cronies are determined to punish working people for their insolence in voting an NDP government to power in the Province of Ontario. The refusal of the Ontario NDP to lay off public servants or cut back on social assistance payments in these

times of hardship has drawn the ire of the economic elite of Canada, who prefer working people pay for the failure of their "free enterprise" system, and so federal Prime Minister Brian Mulroney has obligingly reneged on the transfer payments agreement, and has now capped the amount of money available to the municipalities to assist them in dealing with the burgeoning welfare rolls.

The election of NDP governments throughout Metro and the city will sweep out the Liberal and Tory councillors who presently masquerade as independents. It will sever the organic links that the development industry has with their political friends at City Hall. It will replace the back room wheeling and dealing with public and open debates. It will restore emphasis on planning in the interests of working class communities, on taxation policies based on the ability to pay, and on the need to protect and enhance our municipal environment presently being abused by major industries. It will assist in making police forces accountable through civilian review and investigative boards to the communities who are victimized by police abuse. It will bolster the provincial government in its resistance to cutbacks being forced on it by the federal government. It will advance the principle that those elected should be held accountable for implementing their

programs and keeping their promises. It will help ensure that the public interest will take priority over private profit.

The Left Caucus of the New Democratic Party has worked for three decades to achieve the goal of a full NDP slate for municipal government in Toronto. This year marks a breakthrough. More candidates are running for office on the NDP ticket than ever before. NDP mayoralty candidate Jack Layton has a long and respected history of activism and commitment to tenants, environmental activists, a wide range of municipal reform causes and the labour movement. His election as mayor at the head of an NDP slate will help tip the balance of forces in favour of working people at this critical time.

All members and supporters of the labour movement and the New Democratic Party must make every effort to elect NDP governments in all the municipalities of Metro Toronto. The need to elect labour to power at City Hall has never been so acute. Although possibilities of success have never been greater, they cannot be achieved without your help. The need to elect labour to power at City Hall has never been stronger. Come out and give a hand to your local candidate and vote NDP on November 12. Nothing less than the future of our city is at stake!

Left Caucus Newsletter

ONDp Left Caucus
Station M, Box 107
Toronto, Ontario M6S 4T2

Add my address to the Left Caucus Newsletter mailing list. I enclose a contribution to help finance and circulate the Newsletter for which I will receive the next several issues at the attached address. (Please send at least \$10 as this is a minimal amount necessary to meet our expenses. We really require greater amounts to allow us to increase our periodicity and meet inflationary expenses.) Please print.

Name _____

Street Address _____ Phone _____

City/Town _____ Province _____ Postal Code _____

(Founded in 1991)
Socialists in the Ontario New Democratic Party

present a public forum

Which Way Forward for the NDP?

a panel discussion with

Peter Kormos

New Democratic Party MPP Welland-Thorold

Liz Barkley

past-president, Ontario Secondary School Teachers' Federation

Ken Brown

International V.P.-Canada, Service Employees International Union

Syd Ryan

President, Ontario Division, Canadian Union of Public Employees

Chairperson: Howard Pawley,

Professor of Law, University of Windsor,
former NDP Premier of Manitoba

Friday, November 29, 7:30 p.m.

Earth Sciences Building, U. of T., Room 149,
6 Bancroft Avenue

2 blocks north of College St., just east of Spadina

Everyone is welcome. Donation \$2 requested.

For more information call: 416-588-9090



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WAR IN GULF

Bush exploits U.N. for imperialist aims

By JEFF SMITH

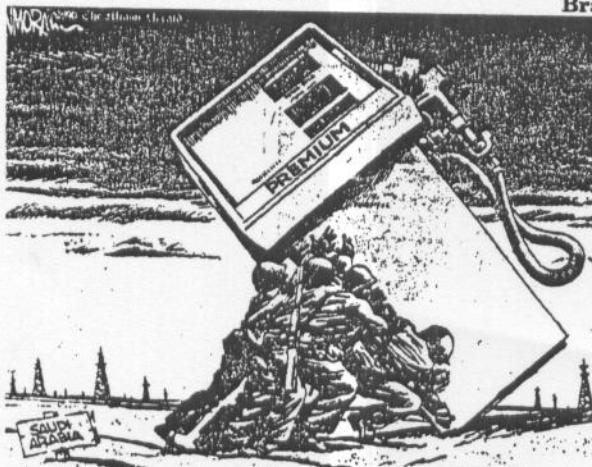
"The liberation of Kuwait has begun". So announced George Bush to the world as the bombs fell on Baghdad.

Hearing retired officers pointing at maps on the six o'clock news one would believe that this war will be over in a month or two, with the Emir of Kuwait back on his throne and Iraq left licking its wounds. The U.S. announcements that it intends to "bring Saddam to justice" and destroy his warmaking capacity complicate the delusion of a quick and "just" war and go beyond

people. If, on the other hand, these sanctions were redirected at high-tech and military hardware combined with a diplomatic boycott, the Iraqi war machine would literally fall apart, since its advanced weapons quickly wear out and Iraq does not have the industrial or technical capacity to keep them operational.

The U.S. would not be, (and never has been) interested in this admittedly long but bloodless approach. Since President Bush drew his "line in the sand" last August, he has been borrowing tired clichés from "B" movies in an unconvincing

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the mandate of the twelve resolutions of the U.N. Security Council which authorize member states to remove Iraq from Kuwait by force if necessary. On the surface this would appear to be a shift from the U.S.'s initial position as endorsed by the U.N. But the goals of the American administration go much deeper than what is passed off as an isolated case of ridding the Middle East of a despot, and are in fact tied to Bush's vision of a "new world order" in which the U.S. plays the rôle of cop, judge and executioner to the international community.

The arguments against intervention in the region have already been stated. Despite the revolting tactics which Saddam employed to annex Kuwait the U.S.-led incursion has resulted in missile attacks on cities in Israel and Saudi Arabia, the destruction of oilfields, environmental chaos and hundreds of thousands of Iraqi and Kuwaiti civilian casualties. The war is creating more problems than it will "solve." Can the Pentagon honestly tell us that they didn't foresee these tragedies?

Some looked to sweeping sanctions as the answer, but they would have affected only the Iraqi

Admin. proposes fee increases

By MICHAEL LAXER

New students at Toronto's two main universities, the University of Toronto and York, could be facing massive tuition fee hikes in the coming year. Both universi-

ty administrations have unveiled plans to increase fees by as much as \$550 a year for all new students, though students presently enrolled will not be effected. An increase of this magnitude would push costs to over \$2,000 a year and would seriously erode accessibility to higher education for students from working-class or low-income backgrounds. One U of T NDP member, Olivia Rebiro, told the *Firebrand* that "If this had been the cost when I entered university I would not have been able to go".

Furthermore, the hikes are coming at a time when more and more Ontario families, single mothers and youth are experiencing serious financial difficulties due to the recession. Many can ill-afford to spend money on anything aside from necessities and though education should be seen as a fundamental human right, those people facing potential unemployment would be hard pressed to see it as anything but a luxury at these prices. Ironically, it is at such times of economic down-turn that many of the unemployed turn to universities as a way of upgrading their skills, thereby exacting something positive from their forced idleness. This can be of

immense long-term societal benefit but will be made virtually impossible for many by such short-sighted money-raising schemes. Also, as many of our industrial sector jobs are disappearing due to free trade, skills obtained from higher education are crucial in the fight to keep people out of the low-wage service sector job ghetto.

Unfortunately, student response, with a few notable exceptions, has so far been relatively subdued. By making the hikes applicable only to new students, administrators have shrewdly eliminated the opposition of those students who don't care unless they feel the effects in their own pocket-books. They have shifted the burden of protest onto teenaged high-school students who are among the most voiceless people in our society and who need our solidarity more than ever. Some students are showing it.

At the U of T the NDP and other campus socialist groups are mobilizing against the hikes. Astoundingly, the U of T Student Administrative Council (SAC) president Tim Costigan not only supports the hikes now that they have been announced but vigorously lobbied for them beforehand! Two SAC members elected last year on the Students for Socialist Action slate, however, are vocally opposing the increases and are organizing students against them. The U of T NDP is hoping to stop the hikes by sending a motion to the annual springtime NDP convention calling on the NDP government to put an

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Higher tutions target students

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immediate freeze on all fee increases (this motion was co-sponsored by the Glendon NDP).

York Federation of Students (YFS) president Jean Ghomeshi, a New Democrat, is also active in the fight against the proposed increases. The YFS is organizing student protests and is pressuring the government to intervene. At York's semi-autonomous college Glendon, however, protest has been muted due to the utter lack of response from the Glendon College Student Union (GCSU). GCSU president Eric Danseureau has come out neither for nor against the hikes and this highlights the GCSU's inimitable ability to fiddle while Rome burns.

Though thus far student reaction has failed to force the administrators to back down, there is still room for hope. The NDP government could sabotage the scheme by threatening to withdraw funding for universities which go ahead with the increases, and students should pressure it to do so. Education is a right and not a privilege, but as with all rights it must be defended with constant vigilance. Many administrators would like to see Canadian campuses become more like their American counter-parts; that is, expensive playgrounds for the rich. Only by organization and protest can students ensure that their rights will remain intact.

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the firebrand

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Wombs to let Surrogate motherhood business exploits women

By CELESTE LEDUIGOU

In 1986 the Ontario Law Reform Commission (OLRC) issued the only government statement in the world recommending the state control of the surrogate industry. The commission report recommends that "where a surrogate mother refuses to transfer custody, she would be compelled to do so by court order". And if during the pregnancy she begins to waiver "where the court is satisfied that the surrogate mother intends to refuse to surrender the child, the court, prior to the birth of the child should be empowered to make an order of transfer of custody upon birth." The fact that the OLRC supports the concept of custody for those who have paid for the child represents a further tampering with the reproductive autonomy which is a woman's right.

Why do couples choose to arrange a birth through a contractual agreement rather than adopt? Firstly, the supply of newborn white infants without a disability is not abundant enough to satiate the demand. Secondly, the couples stress the importance of keeping the male bloodline intact even though the female half of the couple is infertile. Thirdly, the fact that it is still perfectly legal makes hiring a breeder to bear your children a realistic option.

Noel Keane, the individual most responsible for the commercialization of surrogacy, opening his first clinic in 1985. He currently has a financial interest in over fifteen clinics across the United States. Although the female body parts being sold via surrogacy are used for somewhat different purposes than prostitution, Mr. Keane performs essentially the same function as a pimp.

In order to lend respectability

to the selling of women for their reproductive capacities, Mr. Keane has appeared several times on *Donahue* and has been interviewed by *People Magazine*. Maintaining a high profile in the media is important to the surrogate industry because it increases the demand for its services. Other men who stand to gain profits in this fledgling industry have expressed a desire to scour the poorest regions of urban America to recruit breeders willing to sell their bodies for less than the current wage of \$10,000. The Bionetics corporation has already begun to expand its operations by importing women from the Third World.

Despite the rigorous screening process for contract breeders ensuring they have the necessary personality traits (weakness, docility, and a willingness to submit to authority), a woman named Mary Beth Whitehead courageously asserted her right to custody of the child she carried for nine months. Based on what he said when handing down his ruling, the judge showed a clear class bias in case of "Baby M" by awarding custody to the father, an engineer, and not to the surrogate mother who was caricatured in the media as a former "go-go girl".

Including the months necessary for artificial insemination, the wage paid to the contract mother works out to less than the minimum. There are also hazards for which she would not receive any financial compensation; an abortion in the event of any foetal abnormality, or a caesarian section. In return for this paltry sum she must endure a rigorous pre-natal schedule, intensive psychological counselling, diet and lifestyle restrictions and control by men who have a financial interest in the contents of her womb. What a perfect union of capitalism and patriarchy! The only component missing in this unholy union is the blessing of the state in the form of legislation biased in favour of the industry, though the ORLC might change this. However this is much less likely now that there is an NDP government in Queen's park.

There are many different reasons why women sell their reproductive capacities. Patriarchy has conditioned women accept the notion that capitalism has the right not only to utilize their labour power, but also their bodies. In a world where educational and career opportunities for women have been limited, the very concept of free will on the part of contract mothers is hideously distorted by economic realities. The absence of social services in the U.S. has put many women in such a position that they turn to these types of "jobs" in order to sustain themselves.

As women, we must actively resist the institutionalization of the surrogate industry and call upon the NDP government to legislate against child birth.

Throne Speech lacks courage

By BARRY WEISLEDER

Fort York NDP and President, Local 595, OPSEU

The long awaited Throne Speech, on November 20, packs all the punch of a featherduster.

In its first declaration of priorities, Ontario's first ever New Democratic Party government presented a panoply of vague promises (many re-cycled from the previous Liberal government) and postponed commitments.

Certainly, there are exceptions—such as firm pledges to legislate stronger measures on layoff notice and severance pay, to end Sunday shopping, to ease unionization, and to protect "whistle-blowing" public employees who report unethical or illegal employer behaviour.

The labour bureaucracy seized on these and similar pledges to heap uncritical praise on the new government, and to demobilize rank and file concerns in advance.

"I don't know how anyone can be negative about this speech," said Gord Wilson, President of the Ontario Federation of Labour.

Well, Brother Wilson, try these in for size.

Taxes: During the summer provincial election campaign, the NDP promised a minimum tax on corporations, and new taxes on large inheritances and real estate speculation.

Despite its complaints that the \$1 billion-plus debt left by the Liberals will impose onerous limitations on social spending, the NDP Throne Speech only promises the establishment of a Fair Tax Commission to study tax reform. Hasn't tax inequity been studied to death? Why prolong the tax holiday for the multi-millionaires?

Housing: Before election day the NDP called for stricter rent controls and money to build 20,000 new non-profit apartments.

Now the party talks vaguely about increasing the supply of affordable housing and moving in the direction of rent controls.

Child care: The NDP promised 10,000 new non-profit child care spaces and subsidies for another 10,000 families.

The Throne Speech promises only to extend child care.

Insurance: The commitment to introduce a publicly-owned auto insurance plan is put off to the

Spring. What "fair settlement of claims" for damages will mean, under the new system, is anyone's guess.

Interest Rates: The NDP promised a \$1.4 billion fund to provide low interest loans to homebuyers, farmers and small business.

The Throne Speech was silent on interest rate relief.

Education: The party pledged to increase the province's share of education costs to 60%, starting with an additional \$1.5 billion over two years.

On November 20, the speech said education is important to Ontario's future. When pressed, NDP Premier Bob Rae passed the ball to the Fair Tax Commission, which he said will discuss how to increase education funding.

Environment: The NDP government pledges to deliver on its previously promised new drinking water act and a new environmental bill of rights. But, there is now no mention of a promised tax on non-recyclable packaging.

In fact, new NDP Environment Minister Ruth Grier just gave pop companies an extremely generous six-month deadline to abide by their 1985 agreement to put 30% of sales into reusable bottles—an agreement she held up for ridicule when the previous Liberal minister announced it.

Pensions: The NDP's pre-election promise was to index pensions and to give legal ownership of any surplus in a pension plan to employees.

All we got in the Throne Speech was a projection of pension reform.

Choice on Abortion: Although not specifically mentioned on November 20, the government subsequently announced that it will speed up the licensing of free standing abortion clinics and cover all of their costs.

Still, it refuses to declare that any new federal abortion law will be unenforceable in Ontario—thereby placing the sanctity of a man-made law above a woman's right to control her own body.

Labour: Before unionists celebrate recycled Liberal promises for retraining programmes and support for labour adjustment committees, we should ask why there is nothing in the Throne Speech about anti-scab legislation or extending the right to strike to all public service employees. Cost couldn't be the government's excuse.

It is all too evident that the Ontario NDP government is content to project a cloudy social vision, and introduce tame policies that will not anger big business—even at the risk of alienating the NDP's own social base.

The NDP will take five long years to phase in an increase in the minimum wage (now at an obscene \$5.40/hr.) to 60% of the average industrial wage (which is itself \$11.50/hr.).

What's Bob Rae's rationale for this snail's pace? To avoid dislocations? Does he think MacDonald's is going to pull out of Ontario? Anyway, the working poor are used to being poor....

Nothing specific on welfare improvements. What about employment equity and pay equity? No action until the government consults with employers. Let's be prudent.

The same prudence that earned the government editorial page accolades in the big business press for its decision to complete the multi-billion dollar Darlington nuclear plant, without solutions to the growing problem of nuclear waste disposal, or the frequent break downs at other nuclear plants. The temporary freeze on new plant construction, and a stated re-emphasis on conservation, will make this decision easier to sell, for now.

What about battling the recession through public initiatives, which the NDP promised to do during the electoral dog days of summer?

Well, that's been trimmed neatly back to an expenditure of \$700 million for fixing roads, bridges and sewers.

This welcome, but woefully inadequate pledge harkens back to two social democratic imperatives: 1) don't upset big business with major corporate tax hikes (and don't worry about the workers; they have no choice but to vote for a labour party);

2) don't even consider public ownership of any sector of industry or finance so that capital might be directed into production to meet human needs—unless, of course, there's a failing, unprofitable industry that the bourgeoisie needs the state to subsidize, for infrastructural reasons.

With no industrial plan of its own, the Ontario NDP seems quite willing and able to fall into the trap of dead end, band-aid reformism, while jobs disappear and living standards fall.

This was evident when Bob Rae allowed Varsity Corporation, the remnant of the former farm machinery giant Massey-Ferguson, to complete its move to New York on payment of \$50 million in benefits to former employees. The company received \$200 million in public funds in 1981 for a promise to stay.

It was also evident in November when Rae supported a British purchase of Consumers Gas, reversing his own call for public ownership in March.

In Britain, this kind of social democratic capitulation to the imperatives of the capitalist system is called the "new realism". Here we may simply call it the good old New Democratic Party.

But it doesn't mean that socialists have to passively accept it—or content themselves with denouncing it from the sidelines.

The point is to change it; that is, to change the overall relationship of class forces that permits such sellouts, by fighting for socialist policies in our social movements, in our unions and inside the NDP.

ACTIVATE!

If you are interested in becoming a member of your college or university New Democrats, why not get in touch with us? We need your help at book tables, on these newsletters and at our educationalists. Student political activism is more than just a tradition, it's an education in itself.

Firebrand picks video flicks

Winter, the recession, the GST and \$8 ticket prices, when all totalled, serve as an excellent deterrent to movie theatre going. Now that students face higher fees, the low cost of video rental provides ample opportunity for us to see all the best of the world's cinematic splendours without having to brave such an unglamorous activity as starving. To aid you in selecting films that combine entertainment with political consciousness, the editors of the *Firebrand* have picked a few of their left-wing favourites for your viewing pleasure. (Of course we are working on the assumption that you do have a VCR. If not, start a superficial friendship with someone who does--they may even have a pool too.)

Norma Rae

(1979: Martin Ritt)

Norma Rae, the archetype of the stagnant middle-American working mother, finds working-class consciousness in the midst of her unravelling life. Sally Field gives an excellent performance as Everywoman in this exemplum of union organizing. The feminism of *Norma Rae* is inspirational and does not shirk from its responsibility to consider the question of class.

The battle which workers face in establishing industrial unions is laid out in real terms without covering over the effects of forces arrayed against workers. Here are the facts of life.

J.A.

The Grapes of Wrath

(1940: John Ford)

Based on John Steinbeck's novel, though certainly without the force and resolve of the book, *The Grapes of Wrath* is a rare example of social consciousness in mainstream Hollywood film, especially as the depression and its ravaging effects were fresh memories when the movie was released,

The film is a chronicle of migrant workers, pushed off of their farms by bankers and industrialists during the 1930's.

It follows their westward course toward the promise of jobs in California, which proves to be a hollow chasm of cops, thugs, scabs, and the violent exploitation which is their hallmark.

John Carradine is priceless as Casy, the preacher who rejects the straight-jacket of "pie-in-the-sky" religion in favour of labour organizing. Henry Fonda is equally brilliant as Tom Joad, and Jane Darwell won an Oscar for her portrayal of Ma, the new sustainer of her family in a changing order. The movies is savoury in black-and-white; the book is delicious and colour-full. Play Woody Guthrie's Dust Bowl ballads while you read.

J.A.

Matewan

(1987: John Sayles)

Based on the true story of Tennessee coal miners in their fight to win recognition for their union, this movie brings into play the many components that made the American class struggle in the early part of this century unique. By following the efforts of an urban union organizer to unite the workers in the small town of Matewan, we see how the community divides itself in the conflict. The mining company resorts to the use of private police, spies, *agents provocateurs* and immigrant and black employed as scabs in an attempt to break the strike. The strikers must overcome their racism and xenophobia to identify the real enemy and maintain their dignity.

The characters are multi-dimensional and realistic while the plot is constantly dynamic. *Matewan* does an excellent job of providing the audience with a good insight into the social relationships between the people of this town during a time of turbulence. This is a side of America that one rarely sees.

J.S.

The Front

(1976: Martin Ritt)

Very few films have been made dealing with the blacklisting of artists that went on in Hollywood during the McCarthyite witch-hunts against the Left in the 1950's, and most of those that have are documentaries. But this frequently over-looked bitter-sweet comedy classic is the one movie on the subject that everyone should see. Woody Allen is cast as a hapless twit hired by a group of blacklisted writers to front for them so that their scripts might be produced. As the movie progresses Allen becomes more and more aware of the tragedy unfolding before him in American society and, despite all expectations, ends by making a courageous stand. Zero Mostel co-stars in what is perhaps his career's best performance, as a suicidal comic who can't come to grips with life outside the Hollywood community. Terribly funny yet

horribly sad, *The Front* is a priceless cinematic gem. Director Martin Ritt, Mostel and supporting actors Bernardi, Shelley, Gough were all once blacklisted.

M.L.

Z

(1969: Costa Gavras)

This Oscar winner for Best Foreign Film is an unnerving, tense political thriller which deals with events leading up to the 1968 military *coup d'état* in Greece. After the killing of a popular socialist leader by militarists, the resultant public outrage forces a civilian inquiry which reveals that top generals knew about and condoned the assassination before the fact. When the inquest moves to have those involved arrested, the army seizes power. Breathtaking throughout, *Z* has all the feel of a roller-coaster ride, but maintains the political savvy of a Noam Chomsky reader. Be sure to note the list of items banned after the *coup*, shown at the end of the film--it includes everything from Beatles' records to the letter 'z' itself (which became a symbol of resistance). A note of caution: do not rent the dubbed version, as the voice-overs add awkward hilarity to a very serious subject.

M.L.

Roger & Me

(1989: Michael Moore)

This is a documentary even an anti-academic could enjoy; it's perhaps the best of its genre since *Thin Blue Line*. Michael Moore presents a portrait of Flint, Michigan, a town virtually shut down by General Motors. Moore's frustrating humour and a thread of tragedy are interwoven in this exposé more about the human costs and residual effects of capitalism's insoluble problems than about the elusive chair of GM, Roger Smith. Moore tries in vain throughout the picture to confront Smith, but in the process, he meets all and sundry victims of "free" enterprise, whose town is falling apart at the seams.

J.A.

Night of the Generals

Human rights violators get away with murder

FIREBRAND COLLECTIVE STATEMENT

The right-wing governments of Argentina and Greece have recently attempted to pardon military officers guilty of severe human rights violations during the periods when military juntas ruled both countries.

In Argentina thousands of union activists and leftists were arrested, tortured, murdered or just disappeared during the military dictatorship of the late seventies. Under pressure from right-wing military forces Argentinean president Carlos Menem pardoned some of the worst human rights abusers despite massive popular opposition. President Menem was elected on a liberal-left platform but he has since alienated his popular support base by revealing himself as a darling boy of Reaganomics. His government has embarked on a radical programme of sweeping privatization, public sector slashing, cuts to the social service and the enticement of foreign buyouts as a method of "jump-starting" the battered economy. This recent amnesty is a final slap in the face for the workers who put him in power and unfortunately Mr.

Menem shows no sign of backing down.

In Greece in 1967 the military seized power and ruled with an iron fist until the mid-seventies, viciously trampling on basic human rights while using detention, torture, killings and beatings to keep the population in check. When the neo-conservative New Democracy Party government recently proposed an amnesty similar to Argentina they were forced to back-down by pressure from trade unions, women's and students' groups, as well as the Pan-Hellenic Socialist Party and the Greek Communist Party.

As Socialists we must support the struggle of oppressed people against repressive military dictatorships, and we must pressure our government to act against those who either continue in such savagery or those who would allow the criminals to go free.



Independence for the Baltic states

FIREBRAND COLLECTIVE STATEMENT

Since the start of 1991 it has become increasingly apparent that the Soviet Army and conservative forces in Moscow are willing to use any means at their disposal to stop the independence movements in the three Baltic Soviet Republics of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. To date at least thirteen people in Lithuania and six in Latvia have been killed during violent crackdowns on strategic locations by Soviet Special Forces, known as the "Black Berets". Though Estonia has not yet seen similar repression, it is clear that its turn is coming soon.

The Baltic Republics, granted their independence (along with Finland) by Lenin shortly after the revolution, peacefully co-existed with their mighty Soviet neighbour for twenty years before Stalin forcibly

annexed them in 1940. This abduction was a criminal act and any continued occupation against the will of the Baltic peoples constitutes further criminal aggression.

The Firebrand Collective wholeheartedly condemns these crackdowns and reasserts its belief in the right to self-determination for all nations. This commitment applies not only to the Baltic Republics but also to all other Soviet republics who wish to leave the union, to the native peoples of Canada and the United States as well as to Quebec, to the Republic of Croatia in Yugoslavia and to the Palestinian people of the occupied territories in Israel (among others). All peoples should have the right to collectively determine their futures in conditions free from intervention by other nations or empires, and this right must be firmly supported by the socialist movement.

Palestinians prisoners of Gulf war

War often provides a pretext for right-wing governments to justify various forms of repression. With war now raging in the Persian Gulf and a wholesale vilification of the Arab peoples taking place in the western mass media it is hardly surprising that the ultra-conservative Israeli Shamir government has chosen this moment to impose the worst restrictions on the rights of the Palestinians in the Occupied Territories since the invasion in 1967.

Palestinians in the West Bank and the Gaza strip are now required to remain inside their homes 24 hours a day with only brief trips to the local market allowed occasionally. This is in essence the placing of an entire population under a state of house arrest and is a clear violation of international laws governing the occupation of foreign territories.

A 24 hour curfew means that a child is not allowed to attend school and has therefore effectively lost the right to an education; it means that someone who ventures on to their balcony for a breath of fresh air can and will be shot (this has already happened at least once); it means that life as any of us know it would be rendered impossible (no visits to friends, no walking the dog etc.)

The Shamir government claims that this is a necessary security measure in times of war. In fact, it is exactly like the internment of the Japanese during World War Two in North America, except it is on a much larger scale. To limit an individual's freedom without a trial or defence is a gross abuse of human rights.

It is clear the real reason for this "curfew" is to kill the intifada by starving the Palestinians into submission. The election of the neo-fascist Rahavam Zeevi to the cabinet makes this obvious. Zeevi has publicly declared himself in favour of deporting the Palestinians from the Occupied Territories, and what better way of doing this than by depriving the Palestinians of any ability to lead a decent life.

Furthermore Shamir has shown a disgustingly callous disregard for human life by largely ignoring a Supreme Court of Israel decision forcing him to give the Palestinians gas-masks (and simply because many Palestinians support Saddam Hussein does not mean there would be poetic irony in allowing them to be gassed to death by him).

Shamir is gambling that with our gaze concentrated elsewhere he can succeed in breaking the backbone of the Palestinian's struggle for a homeland. We cannot allow this to happen. We must fight for a just peace in both Palestine and in Iraq; lest the Palestinians become yet another innocent victim of this hideous cataclysm.

Bush's brave new world order

from page 1

attempt to portray himself as the Clint Eastwood from Pennsylvania Avenue. Not only does this approach not score points in Baghdad, coming from a country that has traditionally been hostile to the Arab people, but it has further secured Saddam's resolve to "defend the Arab nation." Bush was, and is, definitely the wrong spokesperson for the global community.

This reflects the U.S. administration's sanctimonious view of America as the centre of the "new world order". Unfortunately, the great majority of the American people are buying the pro-war jingoism which is preached non-stop from the media. This was illustrated at the Super Bowl where the half-time show was reminiscent of the Nuremberg rallies 55 years ago. This unquestioning patriotic fervour has enveloped a nation that has a tradition of ignorance and distrust towards the outside world and where internal dissent is easily isolated and squelched. As it declines as an economic power, crippled with a \$3 trillion debt and an immense trade deficit, the U.S. has to reassert itself as a world power by resorting to the only reliable institution left to them—the army. Through military channels, the U.S. can establish new spheres of influence and prop up its sagging economy by gaining international hegemony to supply its industries with new markets, such as weapons, and a supply of cheap labour and resources—in this case oil. As stated by a top Bush adviser in *Time* magazine: "Even a dolt understands the principle. We need the oil. It's nice to talk about standing up for freedom, but Kuwait and Saudi Arabia are not exactly democracies."

In order for the U.S. to justify this action to the world community, which was already weary of its history of foreign intervention, it had to go to the U.N. and offer them a share in this adventure. This was only done once before, in the case of the Korean war in 1950. Any other time it was expected that the Soviet Union or China would veto such resolutions, but with the Soviets looking for good economic relations with the West and China trying to get back in the good books after the Tiananmen massacre they acquiesced to the Western states on the Security Council.

Having obtained the rubber stamp from the U.N., Bush took it upon himself to speak for the allied powers. His unilateral decision to refuse to call Saddam's bluff by allowing the Palestinian issue to be put on the table hindered the chance for any further talks with Iraq. The last nail was put in the coffin when Bush set the January 15th deadline. Last minute attempts by U.N. Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar to reach a settlement with

Iraq were undermined by the U.S. Ambassador to the U.N., Thomas Pickering, who declared during the talks "the only plan we need is the twelve resolutions".

Calls for a cease-fire to give peace talks a second chance were shot down by Bush who announced that they would fight on to the finish. The American refusal to opt for a peaceful end to the conflict, coupled with its cynical manipulation of the U.N. and several statements from White House officials and the right-wing who see the future role for the U.S. in this "new world order" as the international police force strikes an ominous chord.

**'Even a dolt
understands the
principle. We
need the oil.'**

-top Bush adviser

The Soviet Union and China, the only two members in the U.N. Security Council who would have, at one time, challenged such moves, are on the retreat. This abuse of what was supposed to be an institution designed to promote world peace sets a dangerous precedent.

This cannot bode well for those who live under oppressive governments that enjoy power with the blessing of Washington. The day before the January 15th deadline Bush released \$42.5 million in military aid to El Salvador, one of the many American client states that maintains dominance over its people with systemic terror. This is one typical example of the violent regimes that are run by men cut from the same cloth as Saddam and Noriega. But don't hold your breath waiting for the U.S. army to "liberate" them too; not under this brave new world order.

Doonesbury



NDP in forefront of anti-war movement

The anti-war movement is on! Within only two weeks, tens of thousands of Canadians—far more than in the first two years of the vietnam war—have demonstrated.

The New Democratic Party has been in the forefront of this movement from the start. Federal NDP leader Audrey McLaughlin has called upon New Democrats to become active in the various anti-war coalitions. This is now an urgent challenge for the party.

Some anti-war groups have been reluctant to openly include the NDP with the coalition or even among rally speakers, fearing identification with or domination by Party.

We feel this fear is unfounded and the policy mistaken. The antiwar movement can only succeed—as the in Vietnam war—it broadens and includes all forces opposed to the war. To think that this can be done without the active participation of the mass-based NDP, both its leadership and membership, is sectarian and threatens to confine the movement to radical left periphery of Canadian anti-war opinion.

We must go even further to draw participation from among the Liberals, evermore split over the war, and even from disaffected Tories.

It is the NDP, however that is identified as the party opposed to the war. It is the NDP that foremost should be invited and, where necessary, challenged to lend its resources and expertise to build the broadest anti-war movement this country has ever seen. This is especially so in Ontario, where the NDP is in power, and has the public's ear.

Bob Rae is the only premier in Canada who has condemned the war. As important as this is, it is not enough. We must enlist him, and the entire Party in mobilizing public opinion against the war, which will effect the political and economic climate of everyone, including Ontarians, for years to come.

Lies my media told me

BY MICHAEL LAXER

It has been said many times that the first casualty of war is the truth. Governments and militarists are well aware of the fact that during a conflict the truth is a most dangerous enemy. They realize that if war is revealed in all of its graphic savagery to their populations the reaction of the sane to such insanity is anger and repulsion. They understand that the impact of seeing fellow citizens butchered in a distant conflict upon a rational populace is incalculably bad for morale. Thus historically leaders have tried to sanitize war, to hide the killing fields beneath a cloak of patriotism, to use double-speak to de-humanize the enemy and battle casualties. They impose censorship and distort reality in press releases to insure that the media has almost no choice but to disseminate government propaganda (though usually the media is willingly complicit). During the First World War the British did it by circulating totally false rumours about German atrocities against children in occupied Belgium. In Vietnam the Americans daily released highly inflated enemy casualty numbers equal well in excess of the whole combined populations of North and South Vietnam. Now in the war against Iraq, such distortions, doublespeak and outright lying may reach new heights.

The first indication of what the American military had in store for us came just before hostilities broke out. A story flashed across the front pages of North American dailies about several Iraqi military helicop-

ters defecting to Saudi Arabia, though details were "sketchy". Less noticeable, however, were the eventual back page retractions when the whole incident turned out to be a CIA hoax. The CIA had broadcast the fabrication via radio in Arabic to both Saudi and Iraqi listeners so as to dampen "enemy" morale and boost our own. The mass media, needless



to say, downplayed the incident.

Now that war has begun in earnest it is difficult to read the papers or watch the T.V. reports without feeling that there is a profound unreality in what we are viewing and being told. We have seen no dead people though surely thousands have perished, we watch carefully edited videos of allied bombers scoring hits on strategic sites which both obscure the carnage going on below and seem as innocuous as a NINTENDO game, we are treated to enthusiastic progress

reports which later invariably prove false, we hear no reports of stray missile hits on civilian targets though indubitably these have occurred as well. Worst of all we are forced to listen to the de-humanized world of military-speak in which civilian casualties become "collateral damage" and where massive allied bombing raids are called "surgical strikes" while the feeble Iraqi response is "terrorism" (for while Iraqi bombardment of Israel, at this time a non-combatant, is disgraceful, however such attacks on Saudi Arabia would be perfectly understandable).

The morale of all this is that we shall clearly have to take mass media reports on the war with a grain of salt. The American media especially is under great pressure from right-wing military forces who hold them responsible for losing the Vietnam war. This time they intend to strictly censor the reports of journalists and even where they are allowed to go. While the resulting mis-information may serve to keep the people content for a time, it may, should this war prove to be a long one, ultimately back-fire. For what really lost the Vietnam war for the American military, aside from Vietnamese resistance, was when middle-America realized that the nightly casualty statistics released in the media represented their sons, daughters, brothers and friends. Seeing someone you know come home in a bodybag leads you ask "what did they die for?" to which the inevitable response is ultimately "nothing".

Hidden from History

U.S. was quiet on invasion of Kuwait

By FELIX RAKOVSKY

In all the recounting of the history of the Persian Gulf crisis there has been little scrutiny of the Bush Administration's conduct in the period leading up to the invasion. Perhaps this is because close scrutiny raises some very uncomfortable questions about what is really going on.

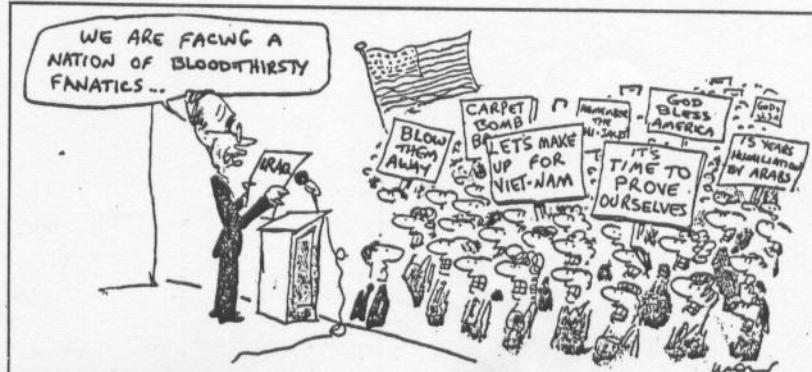
The crisis grew out of a dispute between Kuwait and Iraq over oil production quotas. Talks stumbled and on July 17 Iraq massed over 30,000 troops on the Kuwaiti border.

In response to a request from the United Arab Emirates, the U.S. deployed a small force in joint manoeuvres with the UAE. When this became public the Administration made several surprising statements. As the *New York Times* reported on the 25th of January "in an apparent effort to put an end to rumours that a much larger operation was under way, the Pentagon said that 'the deployment involved only a tanker, a

cargo plane, and six ships.' Furthermore it was stated that the force was to defend the *United Arab Emirates* from attack. A senior administration official added "we also remain determined to ensure the free flow of oil through the Straits of Hormuz and to defend the principles of freedom of navigation and commerce. Our efforts

are not directed against any single country... our concern is free access to oil." Remarkable! In response to speculation that these manoeuvres were a warning about Kuwait, the Pentagon and the White House go to great lengths to minimise their importance and to deny any linkage

Pentagon - page 8



Pentagon was aware of Iraqi intentions

from page 7

with Kuwait, lest anyone misunderstand.

What about Kuwait? Well, White House spokesperson Tutwiler said July 24 that "we do not have any defence treaties with Kuwait and there is no special defence or security commitments to Kuwait". Additionally, a U.S. military official said that if Iraq seizes a small amount of Kuwaiti territory, the U.S. would probably not directly challenge the move, only denounce it. "We are not going to war but you are going to see exercises and you are going to see ships" said the official. In case Saddam Hussein still had not got the hint the U.S. ambassador to Iraq told Hussein, "We have no opinion on Arab-Arab conflicts, like your border disagreement with Kuwait." Afterwards, President Bush sent a cable to Saddam which gave a message opposing the use of force but which offered no security guarantees towards Kuwait. On July 31, two days before the invasion and with 100 000 Iraqi troops massed on the border, Assistant Secretary of State Kelley told the Congress "we have no defence treaty relationships with any of the (Gulf) countries. We have historically avoided taking a position on border disputes". The BBC World Service reported that Kelley had offered no security guarantee for Kuwait.

In addition to implying lack of interest in Kuwait, senior Pentagon, State Department and White House officials curtailed attempts to warn Iraq against invasion. *Voice of America* prepared an editorial on July 25 expressing the U.S.'s commitment to the collective self defence of allies in the Gulf and stated that "the U.S. would take very seriously any threat that would put U.S. interest or friends at risk". The editorial was killed by Kelley. The National Security Council watered down the draft of a speech by Dan Quayle which criticised Iraq. On the 26th the *Times* reported that the U.S. Central Command had pushed for a strong show of force to deter Iraq but Senior officials in the State Department, White House, and Pentagon cautioned that the United States should protect the free flow of oil but "avoid getting drawn into a military commitment to defend Kuwait".

On July 31 further Iraqi build-ups were reported by the *Washington Post*, however the *Washington Post* declined to make any promises to protect Kuwait or declare that its independence was in the national interest of the U.S.

The Administration expressed surprise at the August 2nd invasion of Kuwait yet their own intelligence warned of an impending invasion at least a week in advance, indeed the National Security Council was informed the morning before that an invasion was imminent and that it could extend to Saudi Arabia. Those reports were discounted by the CIA as well as senior Pentagon and White House officials.

Bush warned Iraq that "the

By JAMES ANDERSON

The latest Tory tax "initiative," having begun in January is the Goods and Services tax as shown in the hollow attempts by crusading Liberal senators to stall the bill, the GST was an unpopular proposal even before taking effect. We must look beyond cloudy middle-class protests and weightless tax revolts, however to find real principles which show that the GST is unjust.

In significant respects, this tax is nothing new. It follows the precedent that the burden of taxation must fall to the working-class, who produce the goods being taxed.

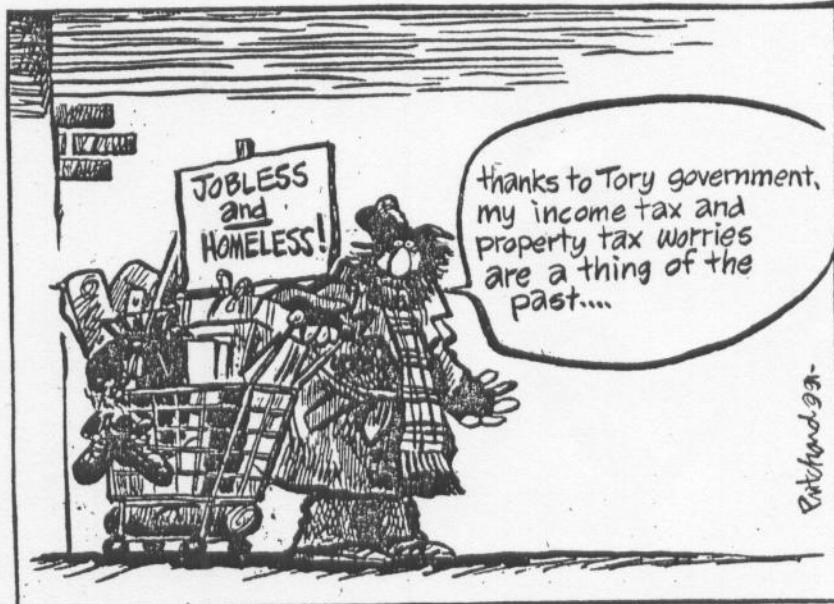
The ruling class in Canada is, as usual, unscathed by this legislation: here is another tax which they

easily absorb. The GST takes a giant leap backward in the pursuit of a progressive tax system in tax is based on income.

Simple arithmetic reveals that the GST "rebate" cheques, over which the working-class is expected to salivate, are a blatant sham.

The tax was hatched from the Tories' determination to eliminate the deficit, resembling Mulroney's assertion that his government cannot help people who are unemployed as a result of the capitalists' recession.

The concern for the deficit is an overt lie, considering Canadian involvement in the Persian Gulf war and the costs that endeavour will incur. We now know where our GST payments are *really* going.



integrity of Saudi Arabia is vital to American interests". With the absence of a U.S. presence in the area and with a token Saudi army, Saddam could have easily taken most of the peninsula, but he did not for fear of a confrontation with the U.S. If Bush had made the same modest statement about Kuwait a day earlier, the crisis might have been averted.

The question of why so many people in the Bush administration seem to have actually encouraged invasion remains to be answered.



SPEAK UP!

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Perhaps the *Firebrand* is the answer. You may not win a Pulitzer Prize, but you can feel you're doing something useful. We're looking for submissions from New Democrats on issues concerning students, women, the country, the world, the universe and everything! Send submissions to:

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Hear ye . . . hear ye . . . hear ye . . .

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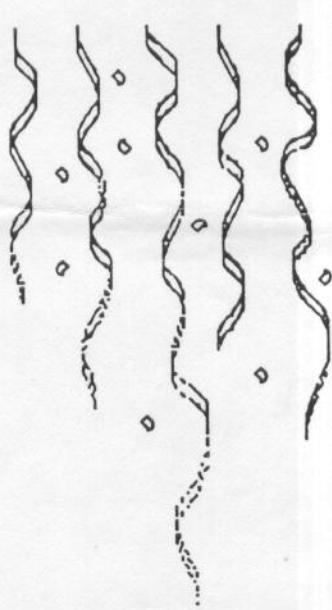
Tuesday, December 31, 1991

From 9:00 p.m. - 2:30 a.m.

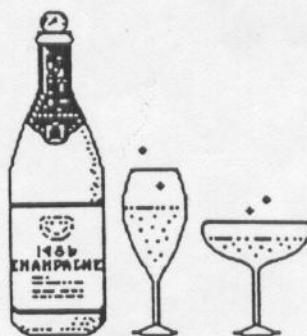
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Party!



rda-1991-Ont. NDP Left Caucus mailing (Lois Bedard archived)
Forward Group, Toronto

FROM THE ONDP LEFT CAUCUS

Dear Left Caucus Supporter,

We in the Left Caucus Steering Committee wish you a good Christmas season and an optimistic New Year. To help you usher in the new year with socialist solidarity enclosed you will find a leaflet announcing the Left Caucus New Year's Party (for a modest \$15).

We apologize for the long delay between Left Caucus mailings. However, it is not due to political lethargy that this has happened. We have been very busy attempting to intervene at different levels of the Party to bring a left perspective to bear with very limited forces. We have also had to face a serious shortage of funds. We invite you to help us out financially by sending in a donation to the ONDP Left Caucus together with a clip-out coupon from one of the enclosed documents.

The first document, *Discussion Needed*, was written for and distributed to the October Provincial Council meeting in Sudbury in response to the Rae government's dumping of the Party's program on public auto insurance. In that document, we discuss the broad implications of this retreat.

The second document, *Accountability*, was written for and distributed to the end-of-November Provincial Council meeting in Toronto. That meeting held a discussion on the whole question of accountability as a direct outcome of the successful organizing efforts of the left at the previous, Sudbury meeting. This document is an attempt to round out and concretize the discussion in the first document.

We hope you find these analyses useful and that you will reproduce them and circulate them among other left wingers in and around the NDP.

Best wishes and socialist solidarity,

ONDP Left Caucus Steering Committee

P.S. Please present the resolution on accountability on the other side of this page to your next riding association meeting with a direction to have it forwarded to Provincial Office to be voted on at the upcoming March Provincial Council Meeting. Notice of the resolution has to be received at least 30 days prior to the meeting, so act now!

Resolution on Accountability

Whereas the future success of the NDP government can only be built on relationships of mutual trust between the membership and the leadership;

And whereas such trust requires that the membership be consulted whenever the leadership is contemplating a major shift in our policy or Party platform;

And whereas such trust also requires that the membership has to be relied upon to mobilize support for the programs and policies which we, as a Party and as a movement, want to implement;

Therefore, be it resolved that the Provincial Council of the Ontario NDP adopt the following proposals for accountability:

1. Any reversals of Party policy, especially proposals brought forward during elections, must be submitted to a Provincial Council meeting for approval prior to implementation;
2. If there is not sufficient time to wait for the next scheduled Council meeting, a procedure for holding special or emergency Council meetings should be implemented;
3. A mechanism should be developed to permit Provincial Council delegates to call an emergency Provincial Council meeting;
4. Sufficient time should be set aside at the upcoming Provincial Convention next June to permit a full discussion on the process of accountability within the Party and ratifying the decisions made in the interim;
5. In approaching matters of legislation which are receiving significant opposition from business interests and the right, the Party leadership should assume the task of organizing and mobilizing the constituencies of the Party, the riding associations, the social movements and the labor movement in support of the Party program.

ACCOUNTABILITY

The NDP government is approaching a crisis. The corporate powers who have effectively carried on a barrage of vicious criticism and mobilized their forces at the steps of Queen's Park, have now set their target on the government's proposed labor legislation. Though the legislation is actually quite modest, the emerging coalitions of business groups have decided to draw a line of blood on the issue of preserving their battalions of scab labor.

Who will win this battle? We know our government is a beleaguered fortress. The NDP government has been encircled by the Bay Street boys in their business suits. It has been subjected to a plethora of venom from the business-oriented news media. The economy has been devastated by the planned deindustrialization of towns and cities throughout Ontario. The NDP government has been subjected to a strike by key sectors of the business community. It has been unfairly maligned for insignificant learning mistakes.

No doubt, the blows against our government have hampered its ability to implement the Agenda for People program which convinced many people that we should be elected. Our leadership has become in some ways isolated, having to take on the big business community without a mobilization from the membership, without counter-demonstrations against the business-oriented demonstrations, without a planned campaign designed to ward off the extremely effective media campaign from the right, without a massive educational campaign to set the record straight on who is at fault for the deficit, for unemployment and for the crisis in social services and health.

The major battles however are still in the future. We know that our party retains its character as the voice of working people, despite the massive pressure to force our leaders to adapt to the corporate agenda. We know that our leadership, in the final analysis, will seek to strive to stand by the interests of working people in the political sphere just as, for example, the trade union leadership reflects our interests in economic struggles. When Bob Rae and Floyd Laughren stood by the NDP budget, notwithstanding a withering attack, the party proved its capacity to be loyal to its constituencies, its refusal to place the blame of the economic recession on the backs of working people. The NDP correctly refused to make those who have carried the brunt of sacrifice during the recession suffer even more while the corporations, who enjoyed a tax

(p.2)

holiday under the Liberal government, continue to rake in profits so high that Bay Street brokers just reported a third-quarter profit of nearly \$56 million on November 28.

This does not mean however that there is no reason for concern. For the first time since the election of the government, senior government figures have stated that cutbacks are inevitable in the civil service. Negotiators for OPSEU have recently reported that the Treasury Department has threatened layoffs if government employees do not hold the line on wages.

It is clear that our leadership and government can not withstand the economic pressures of the recessionary slide without massive support from the membership, the riding constituencies, the social movements and labor. A strategy which takes its natural constituencies for granted while seeking to appease forces that only become more hostile and ravenous with every concession, is clearly not working.

Our leaders are human beings who are not infallible. They need to be bolstered by the membership or are liable to waiver under pressures from other forces exerted upon it. We do not believe that our leaders are icons to be worshipped, incapable of making mistakes and to be followed blindly and uncritically. We are a movement of working people who believe in collective efforts to resolve the problems of society and endorse the view held by Tommy Douglas that if a great leader can lead you out of the desert, he can lead you back into it just as easily. The decision of the leadership of the NDP government in Ontario to abandon its commitment to public auto insurance and not to "revisit" the issue is one that was done without consultation with the ridings, with the membership, with the labor movement or any other significant sector of the Party. It was a mistake that cost the Party a great deal of credibility among its members and supporters, demobilized its rank and file and resulted in confusion and loss of support. Our leaders did not fully appreciate the willingness of members and supporters of the Party to support and campaign for the Party's platform.

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Other constituencies in the past have felt that the leadership of the party has tended to act without sufficient regard to decisions made by the Party. During the March, 1991 convention of the party, after an extensive and full debate, the delegates to the party convention passed by majority vote a resolution to freeze tuition fees for university students. However, within days after the decision, the government rubberstamped a significant fee increase, thereby reinforcing the elitist character of the educational system and making it difficult for working people to provide higher education for their children at a time of high unemployment and limited economic opportunities. During the election campaign, the NDP identified with the demands of the Black community for a province-wide civilian review and investigative body to ensure the accountability of the police. This promise does not involve an expenditure of funds and should not have been postponed.

Yet, a recent revelation has indicated that the Solicitor-General's Department approved a secret arrangement by which the civilian Special Investigation Unit established to report on police wrong-doing will defer investigations until local police forces complete their own investigation, thereby prejudicing the possibilities for an independent review.

In all these three instances, the membership of the party was not consulted. The constituencies most directly affected--party canvassers who ensured the election of the NDP, the Black community that voted heavily for the NDP in the provincial election, young students who overwhelmingly supported a party that was committed to the principle of universal accessibility to higher education, were not consulted. The Black Advisory Committee, the Young New Democrats and party canvassers had no role in these decisions which appeared to have been made at the highest level of the party hierarchy in splendid isolation from those who link the leadership and government to its electoral base and who provided the Party's backbone during the election campaign.

The challenge before the Party at present is to begin to implement important elements of its program and to start to fight back vigorously against the assault from the right. Major banks have reported dramatically high profits for a recessionary period. We must begin to recoup some of these profits for the betterment of society as a whole by imposing a minimum corporate tax. The NDP has clearly committed itself to implement the overhauling of our antiquated labor laws in this province, outlaw scab labor and bring Ontario into the twentieth century. We agree with the resolution passes at the OFL Convention this week which highlights the loophole

(P.4) created by the NDP legislation in permitting employers to carry on production at strikebound plants with off-premises scab labor. We must ensure that our Party, which has retreated in the past on so many issues, holds fast on this promise, plugs up this loophole and regains its credibility in all sectors of the labor movement. As OFL officer Peggy Nash stated, the labor movement should mobilize to counter the hysterical business attack over these amendments.

If we do not now take a clear stand on those issues that are critical to our supporters, we will lose our soul as a Party and our will as a movement. It was the failure of the NDP government in British Columbia under the leadership of Dave Barrett in the 1970's to mobilize the constituencies of the party in the face of an attack from the right that led to electoral disaster.

The future success of the NDP government can only be built on relationships of mutual trust between the membership and the leadership. This implies that the membership be consulted whenever the leadership is contemplating a major shift in our policy or Party platform. It equally means that the membership has to be relied upon to mobilize support for the programs and policies which we want to implement. The Party needs the active support of tenants, labor, women, Blacks, youth and all those who elected us. If we can harness their energy, enthusiasm, determination, commitment and vision, we can finally begin to govern and to implement our program.

The Party can only succeed when it returns to its roots, to its base and to its character as a movement. It is only when there is a rift between the Party acting as the government and the membership base involved in the various social movements that our leaders become vulnerable in a rightwing attack. Under such conditions, the implementation of our program can become such a gradual process that, to quote Bob Rae's own Ph. D. thesis, "The socialism of gradualism can easily become that of accomodation and opportunism."

Proposals for Accountability

New mechanisms, broader than those presently established through the Policy Review Committee are sorely needed to ensure such a process of accountability. At this critical point, where the government is canvassing a wide range of options in response to the economic crisis, including health cutbacks, tax increases, the layoff of civil servants and the privitization of government assets, it is vital that all alternatives be explored. We therefore submit the following proposals:

(P.5)

- any reversals of party policy, especially proposals brought during elections, should be submitted to a Provincial Council meeting for approval prior to implementation;
- if there is not enough time to wait for the next scheduled Council meeting, a procedure for holding special or emergency Council meetings should be implemented;
- a mechanism should be developed to permit Provincial Council delegates to call an emergency Provincial Council meeting;
- the setting aside of sufficient time at the upcoming provincial convention to be held next June to permit a full discussion on the process of accountability within the Party and ratifying the decisions made in the interim.

--In approaching matters of legislation which are receiving significant opposition from business interests and the right, it is the task of the Party leadership to organize and mobilize the constituencies of the Party, the riding associations, the social movements and the labor movement in support of the Party program.

Left Caucus Newsletter

ONDp Left Caucus

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Add my address to the Left Caucus NewsLetter mailing list. I enclose a contribution to help finance and circulate the Newsletter for which I will receive the next several issues at the attached address. (Please send at least \$10 as this is a minimal amount necessary to meet our expenses. We really require greater amounts to allow us to increase our periodicity and meet inflationary expenses.)Please Print.

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DISCUSSION NEEDED!

More than one year after working people elected the NDP to power in Ontario in a dramatic and unexpected move to protect their interests in the then incipient recession, the government is under severe attack, sinking in the polls and drifting without a clear focus. Only a wide-ranging discussion within all bodies of the party, from the Provincial Council to the ridings, can reassert membership control over the decision-making process within the party and set the government back on course.

The decision of the government to abandon its commitment to public auto insurance--a centrepiece in its election platform during the last three elections--has precipitated the current crisis. The retreat from this commitment was ushered through cabinet and then the parliamentary caucus without consultation with the party rank-and-file. This decision lost the NDP significant credibility with NDP supporters and put the Rae government in the awkward position of being applauded from the opposition benches for abandoning its commitment.

Much of the harm caused by the

leadership's flip-flop could have been avoided by broad consultation with party members, many of whom rightly felt betrayed that the same policy that won it such popular support in three other provinces and which big business governments feared to dismantle, was abandoned by edict from above. Even more astonishing was Bob Rae's assertion that the issue would not be "revisited" during his term of office, an assertion that once again preempted discussion within the party and went beyond the fondest hopes of Rae's right-wing critics.

The Rae leadership's strategy is to assuage the business community whose aggressive campaign has included an advertisement by major Ontario landlords in the New York Times calling for a capital boycott, in industrialist Conrad Black's decision not to expand his empire in Ontario to punish workers for voting for the NDP, in a massive concocted propaganda campaign by the insurance industry against public auto insurance and in demonstrations organized by the Bay Street barons against the NDP's decision to refrain from cutbacks in social services and lay-offs of government employees in its

budget.

There was an alternative to surrender before the battle had even began in earnest. The hue and cry over loss of jobs and start-up costs for implementing public auto insurance could have been met with rational and convincing arguments. The money itself needed to implement the scheme was based on cooked-up figures reflecting a worst case scenario involving full and immediate acquisition of all existing companies, inflated severance packages to laid-off insurance executives and entirely unneeded expenditures such as appraisal centres all across the Province. It was never mentioned that the scheme (which involved a cost of only 25 million dollars in Quebec when it was set up there) could have been implemented by incorporating existing facilities. As Minister of Financial Institutional Brian Charlton revealed on a CBC talk show, the funds needed would be acquired by a loan secured with a government guarantee to be amortized over several years at a low interest rate.

Workers threatened with redundancy by the takeover could have been absorbed into public positions opened by attrition. A combination of measures including special training programs and a severance package designed to assist employees pending the availability of other civil service positions could have eased any adverse impact from the government's action. In any event, a major

part of the estimated 750 million dollars in annual premium savings in insurance payments would have found its way back into the economy generating thousands of new jobs of greater benefit to society than positions maintained only as a result of unnecessary duplication and inefficiency. Most tellingly, the insurance industry's bluff could have been called just as it was exposing its hand through the decision of Crown Life to abandon 1,300 jobs in its flight to Saskatchewan (ironically seduced by guarantees of public financial backing from a Tory Government).

The modus operandi of the Rae leadership, its arrogant pre-emption of any input from the membership, its refusal to tolerate criticism from within the government or party, and its tendency to treat the membership as a cheering section, is hurting the party, demoralizing the membership, leaving the NDP open to charges of abandoning its principles and whetting rather than satiating the appetite of big business. It is making it more difficult for the party to consolidate its roots, build confidence and trust among those who voted for the party for the first time as a party of principle accountable to working people, not to speak of those who wanted to stop the insurance ripoff of drivers by outrageous premiums in the first place.

The retreat on this issue is the culmination of a process

that may soon become irreversible. Varsity Corporation was allowed to move its headquarters to Buffalo, eliminating key industrial jobs while the NDP "won" a severance payment package. British Gas was allowed to take over Consumers Gas even though the NDP was committed to public ownership of the utility. 140 million dollars was pumped into Kapuskasing's main pulp and paper mill against protests from environmentalists and Natives as a U.S. corporation arrogantly extracted concessions from the government. Strict rental controls allowing increases based only on inflation were replaced by a scheme which allows landlords to pass on various costs. Employment equity promises vanished into thin air. Internal budget cuts have targeted some workers unfairly. Finally, the promises that would have enabled the NDP to pay for many of the commitments in its Agenda for People platform--a minimum tax on corporations, an inheritance tax on estates valued over one million dollars and a speculation tax on non-principal residences, have all been shelved--leaving the rich in their privileged position while foodbanks proliferate, homeless shuffle the streets at night and youth face a bleak future.

Instead of acting like it won power, implementing its program and transforming the voters who elected it into committed supporters, the Rae leadership hopes to ride out the recession while acting as a broker between different competing inter-

ests. The tripartite mentality that has so far inspired the NDP leadership--the desire to make business and labor work together and compromise--has run into the reality that big business through the federal government is eroding Canada's industrial base in favour of integration into the U.S. where benefits of economy of scale abound. Big business, however, has no loyalty to the interests of Canadian working people--only to its profit margins. The recession has created permanent structural changes which have sucked 300,000 jobs--the best-paying, unionized positions--out of Ontario to the U.S.A.

The task before the NDP is not to show that it is flexible, clever, mature or sophisticated enough to negotiate compromises between opposing social forces. Rather, it is to show that it can place the public interest above private profit. Ontario remains a rich source of raw resources. The processing of these resources into manufactured products such as auto parts is economically logical. A trained and highly-skilled workforce presently exists which can do the job. There is an internal market for products suited to Canadian consumers--for cars suited to our environment, for permafrost structures in the far north, for ski-doos, insulation and similar products designed for Canadian needs. Our farmers should not have to buy Caterpillar tractors in the United States when the plants which produce them are already here where a ready market ex-

ists. However, the maintenance of our resource extraction and mining industries, the development of manufacturing jobs and the stabilization of a consumer market--all needed to implement a Canada-centered industrial strategy--are the precise targets of the Mulroney offensive. There is a way to protect our resources, maintain our industries, avoid the dispersal of our urban centres and maintain a geographical continuum between regions of production and consumption. An industrial strategy which places the public interest over private profit is sorely needed to resolve our current economic crisis.

Such an industrial strategy based on a democratically determined plan in the interests of society as a whole is absent in the government's plans and projections. Such a strategy would naturally complement the progressive thrust of the Agenda for People which helped elect us to power and ensure our ability to fulfil our programs and promises. It can win back those who are dismissing us as just another opportunist party and who may decide not to bother voting at all in the next election because of our sorry performance.

Such a plan would have to be implemented under the democratic control of the communities and workers that would be affected by it. Their participation would overcome the isolation and lack of solidarity that workers are experiencing as they see their best jobs

disappear and their futures full of uncertainty. The Caterpillar workers who occupied their plant in Mississauga symbolize a combativity that can be effectively harnessed behind such a plan. In the balance-sheet which must be drawn at this point, we must begin to ask ourselves what we plan to leave the people in four years time if we do not give working people control over their lives. The rejection of our counterparts in Sweden in the last election indicates that socialism must mean more than pension plans and welfare schemes. The proliferation of public programs by the Swedish social-democrats did nothing to wrest control of the economy from the five major industrialist and financier families that dominate it.

The seige against the government can only be lifted by mobilizing our supporters behind the vision that can win back confidence in the NDP. The lesson of the defeat of the NDP Barrett government in B.C. in the 1970s was that a party that did not mobilize its own base of support in defence of its program would face inevitable defeat against an aggressive adversary who has seized the initiative. There are alternative options to retreat. Every organ within the NDP has to be open to discuss the best way to defend our government. A full and open discussion would enable those who are most integrated into the different movements and communities in Ontario to have an input into

the decisions being made by the government. Only as a result of such a discussion, where various sectors of the party can exchange their experiences and perspectives, can the government re-knit its links to the those who elected it. We can regain the confidence of the people of Ontario. We can develop a strategy which can mobilize our members and supporters in defence of the program

that won us power. We can re-take the initiative seized by the business community in its massive assault launched against the government. The time has come for the NDP to stop acting as if we were still in opposition. We must begin to exercise the power given to us by the people of Ontario.

We must implement our program.
We must begin to govern.

Left Caucus Newsletter

ONDp Left Caucus
Station M, Box 107
Toronto, Ontario M6S 4T2

Add my address to the *Left Caucus Newsletter* mailing list. I enclose a contribution to help finance and circulate the *Newsletter* for which I will receive the next several issues at the attached address. (Please send at least \$10 as this is a minimal amount necessary to meet our expenses. We really require greater amounts to allow us to increase our periodicity and meet inflationary expenses.) Please print.

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Why not take this opportunity to get a gift subscription for a friend? Just add another \$10 or more and mail in an additional address.

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(1991)

1991

Ontario New Democratic Party

Left Caucus Conference

**Saturday,
January 16,
9:30 a.m. to 5:15 p.m.**

**Mini Theatre
Student Union Bldg.
Jorgenson Hall
Ryerson Polytechnical Institute**

DAY CARE WILL BE PROVIDED

Proposed agenda:

9:30 a.m.:
Registration

10:00 a.m.—1:00 p.m.
OND P Leadership Race
Slate proposal for Provincial executive
Convention policy, Resolutions etc.

1:00 p.m.—2:15 p.m.
Lunch

2:15 p.m.—5:15 p.m.
Regional Reports
Party Democracy
Organization & Election of Steering Ctte.

For further information, contact:
Toronto—Bob Kasher 465-4008,
David Tomczak 536-6561
Hamilton—Peter Hutton 628-6135
Ottawa—Walker Jones 744-0550
Sudbury—Simon Rosenblum 673-8654

OND~~P~~ Left Caucus Meeting

WHAT TASKS SHOULD THE LEFT INSIDE THE NDP TAKE ON NEXT?

January Meeting of the Left Caucus

DATE: Monday, January 27, 1992

TIME: 7:30 - 10:00 p.m.

PLACE: Toronto Board of Education Building
55 College Street
Cafeteria (top floor) or alternatively Room 252

You are invited by the ONDP Left Caucus Steering Committee to participate in planning Left Caucus activities for the next six months. Items we need to consider are:

- Provincial Council in the Spring and the debate on accountability
- the June ONDP Convention including resolutions
- Provincial Executive elections
- the Left Caucus Newsletter
- meetings and forums.

Come along and bring a friend. Discussions are open to all socialist New Democrats.

Regular meetings occur on the fourth Monday of each month. Book Monday, February 24 at the same location and time for the next Left Caucus meeting.

For further information: contact Lois Bédard at 961-4554.

NDP Left Caucus Spring Bash

Join the NDP Left Caucus for
a Spring bash !

Lois Rosler
Entrance

John Beverages
Rosler

Food for
7:30

Harry

Piano
Angie
David
Roach

- When : Saturday, April 4th, 1992
7:45 pm - 1:30 am
- Where : 211 Dunvegan Rd. Toronto
(2 Blocks West of Avenue Rd.
7 Blocks North of St. Clair)
- Why : For fun, frivolity and friendship
before the June ONDP convention

Featuring : Poetry, singing and be your own
performer (bring an instrument)

! ALL WELCOME !

For further information:
Phone (416)322-1664

\$5.00 for gainfully employed
Snacks and potables



(Fragment of 1992 publication)

Continued from page 2

By the way, you may have recently received a 1992 membership renewal mailing from Main Street. You may return your renewal in the envelope provided or feel free to call me or anyone else on the executive to have it picked up.

I have enjoyed being membership secretary this past year and I hope that you will join me to achieve our new goal for 1992.



Conference of ONDP Women's Committee

The following information is excerpted from a notice prepared by the Women's Committee of the Ontario NDP.

Ontario New Democrats
Women's Committee
14th Delegated Conference

"WOMEN IN POLITICS"

April 25 - 26, 1992
Ryerson Polytechnical Institute, Toronto

This year's theme will focus on preparing women to take leadership roles in the political arena. Keynote speakers on Saturday and Sunday morning will outline what policies the Ontario and Federal New Democrats are pursuing that will be of benefit to women, and how the presence of women in our caucuses affects policies and the political climate.

On Saturday afternoon, a panel of women cabinet ministers will share their experiences of life on the campaign trail and in the legislature. Workshops on Saturday afternoon and Sunday morning will deal with making the decision to run for office. What are the realities of life as a candidate and as an elected member? What is involved in winning a nomination? What additional barriers do women from minority groups face?

Throughout the conference, there will be reports on the activities of the Women's Committee over the past two years, followed by elections to the Women's Committee executive. We encourage women of color, aboriginal women, and women with disabilities to join with women from all regions of the province to get involved. If you are interested in running for a position on our executive, or know of someone we should approach to run, please let us know.

On Saturday evening, April 25, we will be hosting a gala dinner celebrating women in our party, with our third annual Agnes Macphail Award presentation. The dinner, honoring women of distinction in the CCF/NDP, will also take place at Ryerson Polytechnical Institute.

For further information, call ONDP Provincial Office at (416) 699-6637 or speak to Oriole NDP President Jo Field at 494-7588.

Presenting the first of three forums (Founded 1949)
addressed to New Democrats, trade unionists and social activists

Employment, the debt and the alternatives

Judy Darcy

National President, CUPE

Peggy Nash

Director of Women's Issues and Assistant to the President, CAW

Mel Watkins

U of T Economics Professor and NDP Activist

An Ontario Government representative
has been invited to participate

Tuesday, May 25, 7:30 p.m.

OISE Auditorium

252 Bloor Street West *(at St. George)*

Admission: Donation Requested

**SECOND FORUM :
Cutbacks and NDP Social Policy**

THIRD FORUM:

Implementing Our Program in Power

*The Second and Third Forums will take place in June.
Speakers, dates, and location to be announced.*

(over)

June/92

For a leadership accountable to the party

Carry out convention policy resolutions

Mobilize to defend labour and extend social gains

HARRY KOPYTO
for Vice-President

**LOIS BEDARD, ANN EMMETT
LENNOX FARRELL, KEVIN ROBERTSON**
for Members-at-Large

NDP at crossroads

Across the province, the country, the globe -- big business and its political parties are on the attack. Against the gains and aims of labour. Against women. Against racial and other minorities. Against students. Against the poor. Continentalism, free trade, privatization, layoffs and rollbacks, health and social cutbacks -- these are the dogma of the day.

In Ontario, the NDP has born the brunt of this assault from day one. Elected on a bold program of reforms, our leaders in government at first stood their ground. But, under attack from big business and the media and without energetically mobilizing the ranks of the party and labour movement behind them, they have become isolated, weakened and have adapted to these pressures.

First, it was public auto insurance. Then tuition fees were hiked. Civilian police review was stalled. With this year's budget, the floodgates gave way to social, education and health cutbacks, government layoffs, casinos, and a retreat on common pause day legislation. This May, Bob Rae proclaimed "Free trade is here to stay." Our Labour Relations Act reform remains on the books. But will Bob Rae buckle under an escalating rightwing campaign?

Accountable leadership needed

The problem isn't one of individual integrity. It's a question of accountability. Our leaders aren't infallible icons to be blindly followed. Without massive support from the riding membership, from the social movements and from labour, our leadership cannot withstand the well-orchestrated and financed campaign by the right. Only a leadership that is accountable to the party ranks, that stands by our convention resolutions, that is ready to mobilize the party and the electorate behind it, can withstand this attack.

For a democratic, planned economy

But even this is not enough. In a monopolized, chaotic market, we cannot implement our immediate electoral program, let alone tackle the goals of full employment, affordable housing, universal health and higher education, women's equality, racial equality, and a safe environment. We cannot succeed without bringing society's vast wealth under our collective, creative, democratic control -- through an economy planned and self-managed by and for the majority.

This is the vision that our candidates share.

WHERE WE STAND

- * Hold the line on the Labour Reform Act. No more rollbacks and wage freezes.
- * For public ownership of viable plants threatened by de-industrialization and recession. Workplace democracy beginning with equal decision-making powers for workers in government and crown corporations.
- * Maintain and expand legislation and funding for pay equity, universal public child care, publicly funded abortion, reproductive rights, and programs against violence against women. For an NDP Woman's Organizer -- NOW.
- * Civilian control of the police.
- * For a public mass labour paper to challenge the monopoly of the Big Business press.
- * Proportional representation and training of disabled persons, Natives and people of colour for jobs at all, including senior, levels of administration and government.
- * No funds to private/denominational schools. Free post-secondary education.
- * For a strong, autonomous, well-financed NDP youth movement.
- * For urban, agricultural and resource planning to protect the environment. Production for healthful use -- not for profit.



HARRY KOPYTO (St. Andrew St.-Patrick)

- * fighter for social justice in his role as a former lawyer -- Damien (first major gay rights case in Canada); **Wheel-Trans** (in defence of workers and disabled); RCMP (prosecuting them for dirty tricks against labour and the left); victims of police abuse (**Keeping, Myers, Newman**); labour cases; and the **Mount Cashel** victims of sexual abuse. Led the successful fight to include sexual orientation in the Human Rights Codes.
- * victim of establishment harassment in the legal profession. Overturned the "scandalizing the court" contempt gag law for famous "Krazy-Glue" statement. Targetted in million-dollar "forensic audit" by the Law Society. Despite Law Society's failure to establish fraud, unprecedented dissenting judgement backing him among the Law Society Benchers, and obvious prejudice and Star Chamber-type procedures, Kopyto was disbarred.
- * Currently appealing his disbarment on constitutional grounds which challenge the unfettered power of the Law Society to harass dissident lawyers.



LOIS BEDARD (High Park-Swansea)

- * active member of the CCF and NDP in High Park-Swansea since 1939.
- * a founding and executive member of the Toronto and Ontario Hemophilia Societies for 10 years.
- * a founding and executive member of Organized Working Women for 10 years.
- * union worker at John Inglis and Small Arms of Long Branch, 1940-1941.
- * nursery school relief worker in the Toronto Nursery Schools during the War.
- * secondary school teacher for 35 years in Metro Toronto and Peel County.
- * retired in 1981 to care for an older sister, with Alzheimer's Disorder, at home for 8 years while remaining active in the NDP federal, provincial and municipal ridings and campaigns.



ANN EMMETT (Oakwood)

- * supported herself through secondary school and university working in G.E. Lamp Dept., managing a construction site catering truck, tending birds, and wiring and soldering radio and TV sets.
- * politicized when working as a school principal and acting area administrator for 2 years under the Dept. of Northern Affairs at Igloolik, N.W.T.
- * branch president of her secondary school from 1971-1984 and served on the District 13 Council of OSSTF.
- * strike captain during the Metro secondary school teachers strike of 1975.
- * co-chair of the Council of Canadians, Toronto Chapter, for 2 years.
- * since 1972, has worked to elect federal, provincial and municipal NDP candidates.
- * an active opponent of the Free Trade Act, the Gulf War, the GST, and logging in Temagami.
- * represents her local residents association in the struggle to restore environmentally friendly trolleys in place of polluting diesel buses.



LENNOX FARRELL (Oriole)

- * member-at-large, ONDP Provincial Executive
- * immigrated to Canada in 1969 from Trinidad and Tobago where his mother was her village area organizer for the anti-colonial People's National Movement and his father a union organizer for the Oilfield Workers.
- * joined the NDP in 1972 and worked in various campaigns -- for Stephen Lewis in Scarborough, for Ed Philip in Etobicoke, for Maria Augimeri and Sheila Lambrinos in North York.
- * worked as a bricklayer's assistant, messenger, factory worker, clerk, bookseller, youth counsellor, and nurse's aid.
- * presently teaches high school English and Geography.
- * long-time activist in various solidarity committees (anti-war, anti-racist, anti-free trade)
- * has worked in Toronto's Black community with several committees and organizations.
- * researcher and writer for the Black Action Defence Committee.
- * current chairperson of Caribana.
- * current co-chair of the Ontario Anti-Racism Advisory Working Group reporting to Elaine Ziemba, Minister of Citizenship.



KEVIN ROBERTSON (Parkdale)

- * member of the NDP since 1987.
- * secretary of the Parkdale-High Park federal riding association.
- * serves as a member-at-large on the Parkdale provincial riding executive.
- * vice-president of Ward 2 (municipal) association of Toronto.
- * has worked for 13 years for Canadian National Railway as an active member of the Canadian Brotherhood of Railway, Transport and General Workers.
- * elected chair of the Political Education Committee of Local 76 CBRT in Toronto for each of three years.
- * CBRT Local 76 delegate to the Metro Labour Council.
- * campaigned and works in the ridings and elections in federal, provincial and municipal NDP struggles.
- * works with the Railway Lands Action Coalition of Toronto.
- * supports calls for active participation at demonstrations and picket lines.

COME TO THE LEFT CAUCUS CONVENTION PLANNING MEETINGS

Meeting Location To Be Announced at the Sessions

Visit the Left Caucus Table in the Lobby

Resolution on Accountability

Whereas the future success of the NDP government can only be built on relationships of mutual trust between the membership and the leadership;

And whereas such trust requires that the membership be consulted whenever the leadership is contemplating a major shift in our policy or Party platform;

And whereas equally such trust requires that the membership has to be relied upon to mobilize support for the programs and policies which we, as a Party and as a movement, want to implement;

Therefore, be it resolved that the Provincial Council of the Ontario NDP adopt the following proposals for accountability:

1. Any reversals of Party policy, especially proposals brought forward during elections, must be submitted to a Provincial Council meeting for approval prior to implementation;
2. If there is not sufficient time to wait for the next scheduled Council meeting, a procedure for holding special or emergency Council meetings should be implemented;
3. A mechanism should be developed to permit Provincial Council delegates to call an emergency Provincial Council meeting;
4. In approaching matters of legislation which are receiving significant opposition from business interests and the right, the Party leadership should assume the task of organizing and mobilizing the constituencies of the Party, the riding associations, the social movements and the labor movement in support of the Party program.

(Founded 1992)

THE CHALLENGE BEFORE THE RANK AND FILE AT THE NDP CONVENTION

An open discussion for NDP members on:

- How to build an alliance with labor
- Is socialism still relevant?
- Where is Bob Rae taking us?
- How to fight for accountability

7:30 PM, Wednesday June 10

Room 252 Toronto Board of Education,
155 College St.

Initiated by the Ontario NDP Left Caucus

For further information contact Lois Bedard 961-4554
or Gord Doctorow 497-8039

ABORTION PILL - RU-486

WHEREAS the abortion pill, RU-486 (developed in France) with prostaglandin is a very promising new medical method of providing safe, inexpensive and minimally intrusive very early abortion, and

WHEREAS this method has been tested for 10 years in 20 countries, and

WHEREAS women in France and Britain have RU-486-induced abortions available to them, and

WHEREAS Roussel-Uclaf, the manufacturer of RU-486 and Hoechst Roussel Canada Inc. are delaying indefinitely the release of the drug for testing as an abortifacient in Canada,

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the Ontario New Democratic Party urge the Ontario Government to convey in a forceful way, to the Government of Canada that:

1. the Government of Canada act in the public interest by encouraging the manufacturer to release RU-486 for testing as an abortifacient, and
2. the Government of Canada, in the event that the manufacturer fails to respond to such an appeal, invoke the "use-it-or-lose-it" provisions of Canadian patent law, so that another drug company can act in the best interests of women and science,
3. the Government request that Roussel-Uclaf stop delaying the introduction of RU-486 and immediately begin a multi-centred Canadian trial.

Resolution on Taxing the Banks

WHEREAS the combination of economic recession and lower tax revenues have motivated the NDP government to cut back in social, health and educational expenditures, contrary to our election promises and general policies, thus disappointing many in our natural constituency;

AND WHEREAS, by contrast, the major banks and financial institutions across Canada registered profits of some \$3,700 ~~billion~~^{million} in their last fiscal year;

AND WHEREAS more than half of these profits were earned by the banks in the Province of Ontario, to a large extent as the result of a massive expansion in service charges affecting hundreds of thousands of consumers;

AND WHEREAS the major banks and financial institutions in this country have significant fixed assets invested in Ontario which are difficult, if not impossible, to relocate and which, in any event, could not be relocated without a major loss of future profits for the banks;

AND WHEREAS the \$3.7 ~~billion~~^{million} in profits earned by the banks and financial institutions is in too many instances being withheld from economic circulation, thereby contributing significantly to the economic recession in which the people of Ontario find themselves;

AND WHEREAS the banks frequently expend their profits in financing passive investments on overpriced properties without any benefit to the economy;

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the Ontario New Democratic Party in government immediately impose a 25 per cent surcharge on the taxable profits of the major banks and financial institutions with respect to their earnings in the Province of Ontario.

Indigenous Solidarity Day: October 12

WHEREAS October 12 is proclaimed by the International Indian Treaty Council (an NGO affiliate to the United Nations) as an international day in solidarity with the indigenous peoples of North America; and

WHEREAS 1992 is the 500-year anniversary of the "Discovery" of the Americas and the subsequent colonialization of the indigenous peoples and nations of North America;

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the Ontario NDP government declare October 12 of each year as a day of recognition of the struggle for true justice, equality and self-determination of the aboriginal people and nations of North America and a day of solidarity for the people, such as North American Indian Leader Leonard Peltier, who stand out as examples to all humanity for the defence of their land, culture and identity.

Resolution on Prosecution of CUPW Members

WHEREAS CUPW members André Kolompar, Jim Lawrence and Ron Pollard were found guilty of contempt of court for conduct arising out of the CUPW's national strike in 1991 and were sentenced to various priods of imprisonment;

AND WHEREAS these trade unionists were found guilty as a result of protesting scab laws which the NDP is committed to abolish;

AND WHEREAS the Attorney General of Ontario – demonstrating the discretionary powers available to this Minister – under a Conservative Government in the past had decided not to prosecute senior members of the RCMP who had admitted committing serious crimes against socialist groups in the 1970's ostensibly because it was not "in the public interest" to do so;

AND WHEREAS the previous Liberal Government of Ontario had exercised its discretionary powers in matters of legal prosecution by deciding not to prosecute our current Premier, Bob Rae, for allegedly violating a provincial statute arising out of a protest against the destruction of the Temagami forest by lumber companies even though he was clearly in violation of the law because it was not "in the public interest" to do so;

AND WHEREAS it was clearly not in the public interest, as far as working people are concerned, to prosecute CUPW workers for protesting an unjust *ex parte* injunction – an unfair legal remedy available to the employers and granted by sympathetic conservative judges – in a peaceful manner and without causing harm to anyone;

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that this convention of the Ontario New Democratic Party instruct the Government to issue pardons to the CUPW members convicted on contempt of court charges.

Ontario New Democrat

WHEREAS it is desirable that the Ontario NDP publish its own newspaper for the purpose of permitting the membership to exchange news and ideas, intervening in the social movements and promoting the NDP to non-members;

AND WHEREAS the *Ontario New Democrat* lacks the frequency of publication and suitable format to be used for this purpose;

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the ONDP transform the *Ontario New Democrat* into a dynamic and regular publication which would have the following features:

It would

1. be accessible to both members and non-members of the Party and would contain a letters-to-the-editor section, columns, and pages set aside for riding and labor movement news;
2. be published on a regular basis with a view to making it a monthly at the earliest time that such a move becomes economically feasible;
3. have as its purpose the promotion of the NDP, in the social movements and it would function as an organizer for the Party in the different political areas of involvement of the membership;
4. have regular features inviting the opinions and views of members of the NDP on various matters and issues within the international and national labor and socialist movements;
5. operate under the aegis of an Editorial Board Committee that would reflect the various areas of interest and activity of Party members including representation from activists involved in the women's movement, the struggles of people of color, the rights of disabled people, the environmental movement, the anti-war movement, and the gay/lesbian rights movement.

(land in Sommer 1992)

From the ONDP Left Caucus

SUPPORT SOCIALIST MEASURES

The NDP stands at a crossroads. If the landlords can invest thousands of dollars to tell New York bankers not to invest in Ontario in order to get the laws which they want to get passed, the NDP must be really committed to stand by the program which allowed it to win power. Socialism is no longer just a desirable idea. It is the solution to meet the burning crisis of our times. If we do not act now, there will be nothing left to save.

The Left Caucus urges delegates to support the following priority resolutions.

Labour & Employment: 5-3, 5-12, 5-24, 2-25, 5-39.

Housing: 8-16, 8-19.

Multiculturalism, Justice, Human Rights: 11-9, 11-18, 12-2, 12-3, 12-4, 12-8, 12-9, 12-12, 12-18.

Health, Community, Social Services: 10-48,

Education: 9-14, 9-39, 9-45.

Natural Resources, Environment: 2-38.

These were chosen because of their emphasis on radical solutions to economic and social problems, emphasizing democratic participation. There are many other good resolutions worthy of consideration. Our effort in creating this list has been to try to focus on some key resolutions without any intention to disregard many others. Please consider the significance of these choices as you listen to the debates and prepare to vote.

-For further information, visit the Left Caucus Table.

Lunch Time Left Caucus Forum

(*Founded in 1992*)

An analysis and open discussion of what happened at the federal convention and the prospects for the future.

When? During the lunch break

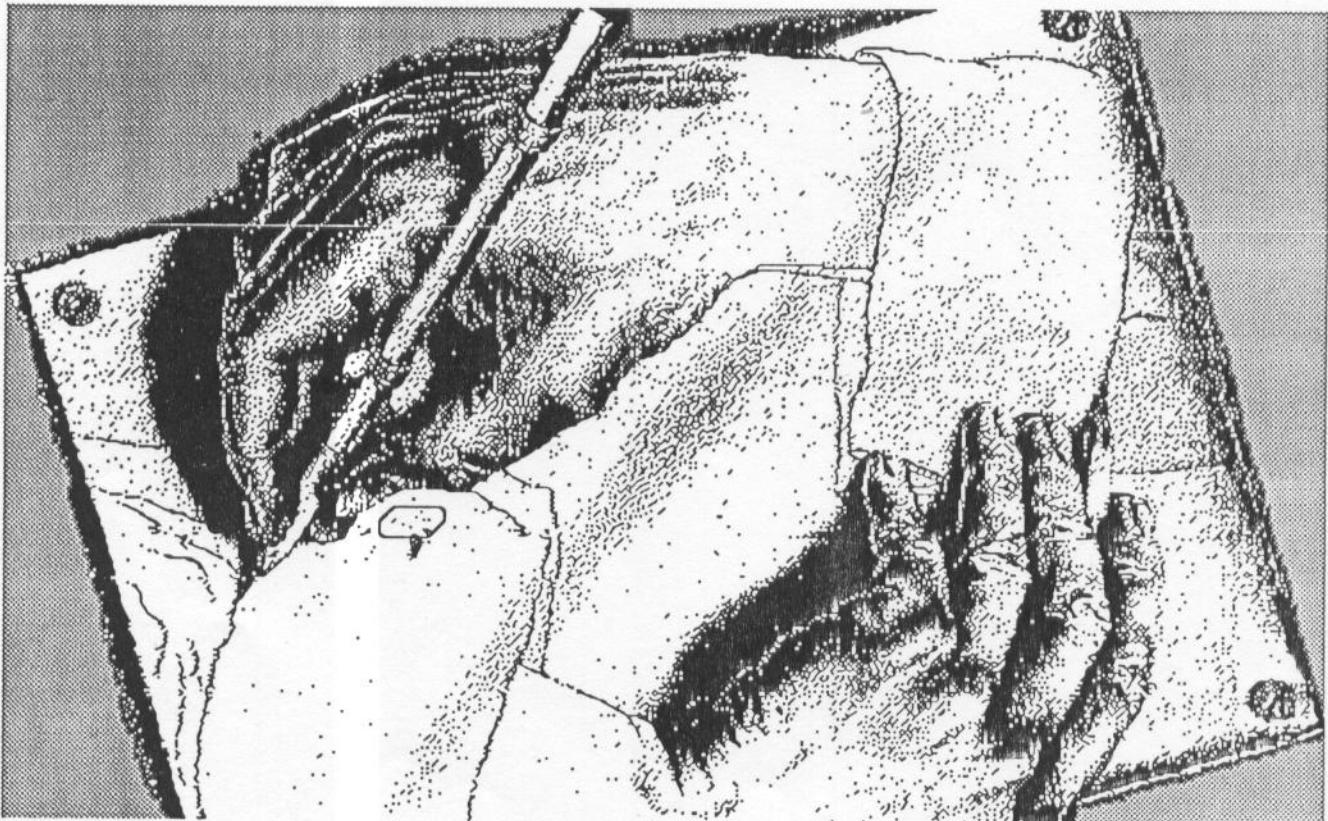
Where? To be announced

Speakers? Gord Doctorow and Harry Kopyto

(both of whom attended the Winnipeg Convention as delegates)

The leadership contest has marked a significant turning point in the NDP. The effects are reverberating throughout the Canadian political scene. While we are still at a preliminary stage, there is much to be said about the significance of the convention in terms of the future growth of the party and the relationship of left-

right forces within the party. The purpose of this forum is to exchange views. The presenters will provide their own brief analyses with the remainder of the time left to provide information and exchange ideas. All are welcome.



Visit the Left Caucus literature table in the foyer. If you wish to receive the Left Caucus Newsletter, sign up for a subscription (\$10 per year).

Support the Left Caucus Newsletter!

Each issue of the Newsletter costs about \$900. That includes getting the union label, printing, mailing, and distributing copies at meetings and rallies. All the typing, setting, and designing is done by volunteer labor. And it's worth it. Because the Newsletter expresses the voice of left-wing opinion inside the NDP. We strive to link up all the ongoing struggles with the struggle for socialism.

In Canada, the existence of the NDP as a mass labor party allows us to *combine socialist theory with practical organizing*. Despite the limitations of leadership and program within the NDP, it nonetheless remains the arena of independent workingclass politics. It is the area in which socialists can help to shape and influence the real struggles.

The Left Caucus Newsletter continues to battle on our collective behalf. We use it to bring together the individual socialists scattered throughout the Party and to provide a forum for political discussion and collaboration. With the election of an NDP government in Ontario, it is both opportune and necessary to offer a serious left perspective to the new groups of social activists that are working within this political vehicle.

While the work of the Newsletter is entirely voluntary, we have been able to improve the technology of production to provide readers with an attractive as well as informative paper. However, volunteer labor alone and the small subscription fee that is charged are insufficient to sustain the Newsletter. We need your financial support.

You can help to sustain this vital project with your donations. Every financial contribution goes towards ensuring that the voice of socialism will continue to be heard inside the NDP. As the recession, continentalization of the Canadian economy, and de-industrialization continue, working people are faced with profoundly destructive effects to their lives and their communities. Big Business's agenda, purveyed by its loyal lieutenants in the Tory government, is pushing for a rollback in the social gains working people have fought for and won. We must go beyond the Party leadership's efforts to try to conciliate the interests of Big Business with those of the province or country. Women, youth, Native peoples, people of color, ostracized minorities all have an urgent stake in the project of *an independent and socialist Canada* alternative we in the Left Caucus are arguing for in the pages of the Newsletter.

Your financial contribution has political, material, and moral value. Please send your cheques payable to the ONDP Left Caucus and mail them to ONDP Left Caucus, Station M, Box 107, Toronto, Ontario, M6S 4T2. You can make your donation count even more by sending us a series of post-dated cheques. That way we can count on a funding base to plan a number of future issues. We rely on you because we rely on each other.

In Socialist Solidarity,

The Editors

1992
LEFT CAUCUS OF ONDP ON
MULRONEY'S REFERENDUM

HOW CAN WE VOTE YES?

Remember the federal NDP convention in Halifax? After months of discussion, we voted in favour of a bold, new constitution for Canada. We supported a strong federal government that would protect our cross-country social programs. We supported the right of Quebec to decide its own fate. We supported Aboriginal self-determination that would give Natives full independence and the resources to make that independence real. We opposed a Senate that would be a retirement club for wealthy male politicians. And, most importantly, we called for a constituent assembly to give all the people of Canada a voice in their future.

What did we get? A rushed referendum, which our MPs voted against in June, that will be a springboard to Mulroney's reelection campaign next year after his resurrection as Captain Canada fighting off its "enemies" with the Liberals and NDP in tow. On October 26, Canadians will be asked to endorse Mulroney's unity deal. After five months of secret haggling reminiscent of the Meech Lake Accord, 12 male politicians emerged from a cloistered meeting room in Ottawa in August to proclaim that they had devised a formula to save Canada. Even without knowing the actual contents of the new constitution or the final wording of the referendum, we are already being exhorted to support it as an unalterable compromise or face "enormously serious consequences that will set us all back decades," according to Bob Rae. A cause for celebration? Or a time for hesitation?

SUPPORT GENDER EQUALITY

We agree with NDP Leader Audrey MacLaughlin, Canadian Labour Congress vice-president Nancy Riche and the National Action Committee on the Status of Women that the deal violates women's rights. We also share NAC's concern on other points as well: the failure to provide enforceable rights for women, Natives and minorities in the Canada clause; the weakening of federal standards by the transfer of labour training programs to the provinces, and the abandonment of new federal programs by opting out provisions for shared cost programs. We also share the trepidations of the Ethnocultural Council, representing 37 national organizations, and the National Organization of Immigrant and Visible Minority Women, who attacked the deal for ignoring racial equality. We note the fears of the Common Agenda for the Arts that federal arts training programs and broadcasting regulations will be harmed. We note that NDP Howard McCurdy has agreed to join the "no" forces in the referendum if minority groups decide to oppose the pact. While Canadian Labour Congress President Bob White has indicated cautious support for the "yes" vote, he expressed the same reservations other groups share about the deal and criticized those who argue that a "no" vote would create disaster. Even Bob Rae's enthusiasm for the deal is largely predicated on the need to end the constitutional wrangling and to start focussing on economic issues.

REAL NATIVE SELF-GOVERNMENT NEEDED

The big selling point in this accord for the NDP premiers has been its provision for

Native self-government. But many Native groups, including the Native Women's Association of Canada, the Native Association of Alberta, the Mohawk leadership in Oka, the Six Nations Confederacy and the Assembly of Manitoba Chiefs have taken their distance from the deal. As the editor of *Nativebeat*, Miles Morrisseau, wrote on September 1, "Without some kind of referendum or approval process in each Native community, the self-government deal will be a farce upon introduction. It will be just another decision handed down from on high--it makes no difference that some of the hands are brown... If it means that a few Native leaders and their executive can make the most important decision in our lifetime unilaterally, then self-government will be clearly exposed as a mockery of Native traditions of government... The Native leaders have loudly supported the deal. But within the Native community, little more is heard beyond a murmur".

There is not a word in the accord about how Native self-government will be financed. The settlement of Native land claims is critical to the process. Only four comprehensive settlements have taken place in the last 18 years with 45 still outstanding. There hasn't been a settlement since 1988. The new constitution promises five more years of negotiations, and then the Natives can resort to a hostile court system empowered to once again refer the claims to interminable negotiations. No wonder Six Nations elder, Arnold General has responded by saying that "Self-government will not come to the Six Nations because we have never lost it. Did we not have self-government when we signed those treaties?" In fact, by making Native laws subject to provincial and federal laws which fall within the "peace, order and good government" clause in the B.N.A. Act, the deal has given the government an opportunity to encroach on the legislative powers of Natives almost at will. Some Native groups have balked at the primacy given provincial laws over their own, anticipating broad resistance in selling the deal to their constituency who know well what racist provincial laws and police can do.

DEFEND FEDERAL SOCIAL PROGRAMS

The proposed constitution will accelerate the dismemberment of English Canada through its proposed superSenate designed to enshrine regional and parochial interests. Senators who need not even be elected will have power to block taxes on natural resources for the benefit of all Canadians. Federal jurisdiction has been ceded to the point where cross-country programs, standards and obligations will be difficult to maintain. 2,000 jobs are expected to disappear in Ottawa because of devolution of power to the provinces which would pass on responsibility for housing, forestry, mining, tourism, urban affairs and manpower training to the provinces and weaken jurisdiction in immigration, cultural affairs and telecommunications. Anybody want to place any bets on whether the provinces will maintain existing federal spending priorities in these areas?

The proposal of an unenforceable covenant which MP Howard McCurdy described as "very weak" contrasts with the social charter endorsed by the federal NDP. The much-touted concessions to Quebec--the distinct society clause and a 25% minimum allocation of seats in the House of Commons--flagrantly ignore the fundamental right of the Quebec nation to determine without compulsion what form of state it wishes to have. Solidarity can only be built on the basis of a willingness to associate in an economic or monetary union with the people of Quebec whatever choice they make about their future. Indeed, by committing the government to the "vitality and development" of the English community in Quebec in the unity deal, the basis is laid for an attack on Quebec's jurisdiction to protect its own language and culture.

The NDP's traditional position in favour of abolishing the Senate has been cast aside by the NDP premiers in favour of resuscitating the ancient relic as a metamorphasized chamber of superbureaucrats whose selection would make a mockery of proportional representation, to the detriment of women and minorities. With Alberta's and Newfoundland's premiers opposed to gender equality, the proposed senate means more wealthy male politicians feeding at the public trough. And what measures are proposed to ensure representation of women and minorities in the House of Commons where real legislative power lies? None.

MULRONEY'S PHONY MASQUERADE

The Mulroney government masquerades in the maple leaf flag while selling Canada

out to U.S. corporations through the free trade deals. No one has been more sychophantic to Washington--in the slaughter in Iraq, in U.N. votes on the invasion of Panama and Grenada, in allowing the heights of our economy to be bought up by U.S. capital--than the Conservatives. Yet tragically, the NDP premiers have been manoeuvred into bringing up the rear in the naked emperor's parade. Instead of using their clout to wrest concessions from an unpopular government, the NDP premiers have given Mulroney the progressive cover he needs to bail out his sinking ship. They have put NDP leader Audrey McLaughlin in an untenable position by joining Mulroney's bandwagon with an election in sight. As Labour leader and the head of the NDP's election -planning committee, Julie Davis, put it, the political reality is that with three NDP premiers backing the deal, it would be tough for the federal party to oppose it. However, Davis's statement that "What we're trying to do is to get people to look at it like a collective agreement, where it doesn't have everything you'd like, but over-all it's not bad and it's enough to move ahead," shows how much the federal party has been backed into a corner. What union would consider it a success to negotiate a clause, like the social covenant, which is unenforceable? And doesn't collective bargaining involve counteroffers and amendments instead of a non-negotiable fait accompli?

The co-option of the premiers could destroy the credibility of the NDP, whose popularity has plummeted from 41% to 16% in the last 18 months. Now is the time to focus on our principles and emphasize our distinctness rather than emerge as handmaidens in a campaign for a deal that is designed to deny the Quebecois their freedom of choice and to divide and rule the Canadian people.

THEIR CANADA OR OURS?

As socialists in the New Democratic Party, we want a constitution that will create a strong, independent country which will respect the rights of the three major nationalities that co-exist within its borders to freely shape their own destinies. We support an enforceable social charter that will guarantee the right to shelter, employment, medical care and education to all regardless of income. We are prepared to extend cooperation to an independent Quebec if requested. We favour an immediate abrogation of the Indian Act, the transfer of its resources and budget to the Native peoples and the referral of all outstanding land and resource claims not settled within five years to the International Court of Justice in the Hague. We propose, in the new constitution, to endorse Native, Inuit, Dene (and Acadian?) sovereignty over their land, resources, police, laws, health, housing, education, culture and governmental administration.

We favour a constitution that establishes remedial programs and guarantees of sexual equality in all public and private institutions and services and the full integration of all minorities in proportion to their numbers, in all such institutions. We support a social charter that not only promises but delivers the right to a job, the right to join unions and the right to collective bargaining. We favour training the physically disabled to make the constitutional recognition of their entitlement to equality in employment real. We favour constitutional prohibition of all forms of discrimination without reasonable cause.

DEFEAT MULRONEY'S UNITY DEAL

The real "enemies" of Canada are those who see its foreign policy made in the White House, its economic policies made on Wall Street and its military policies made in the Pentagon. Whose interests are served by a weak, decentralized Canada? Who benefits from the dismantling of federal programs? Who profits from the subordination of Quebec's workforce and resources to English capital?

The constitutional deal, soon to be peddled by Conservative and Liberal politicians in their crusade to make Canada part of North America Inc. with a U.S.-style Senate, has ensnared the NDP premiers in Mulroney's scheme to dismantle this country while pretending to do the opposite. The history of nations is replete with constitutions full of hollow words but drenched with the blood of those who believed them. Lest its facade be exposed, the Conservatives want a rushed resolution based on six stage-managed constitutional conferences, bureaucratically controlled parliamentary hearings and five days of horse-trading behind closed doors. What a far cry from the constituent assembly

that the NDP called for, in the aftermath of the Meech Lake debacle that would enable representatives of trade unions, professional associations, cultural organizations and social movements to create a constitution through an open, democratic, representative process!

There still is time to extricate the NDP premiers from becoming lieutenants in Mulroney's campaign to rebuild his political career by emerging as the saviour of our nationhood. Ultimately, our fortune in the election on the horizon is at stake. How can we expose Mulroney's free trade sellout of Canada's sovereignty by sanctifying his phony campaign to "save Canada"? By saying that, "until we get this issue behind us as a country, it's going to be much tougher to get the economic issues dealt with," Bob Rae echoes Mulroney's efforts to extort support for his deal. Why should New Democrats make excuses for the failure of the government to create jobs and fight the recession now? It doesn't need a new constitution to do that. And why has Rae appointed the referendum as "non-partisan"? Can anyone doubt that Mulroney will use his leadership role in this "historic" campaign to his own partisan advantage?

FOR A CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

Let's get back to basics--the principles that were accepted at our Halifax federal convention--a social charter with teeth, self-determination for Quebec and a constituent assembly to allow the Canadian people to forge their own future. Let's affirm our vision of a sovereign Canada which can achieve independence from control by U.S. capital through socialism. Let's vote for a resounding rejection of this deal concocted behind our backs without consultation, without our knowing its contents, without amendment and without a full discussion within the trade union movement, the NDP, the communities of the Aboriginal Peoples and society as a whole. And then, let's launch a call for a constituent assembly that will truly remake this country in the image of its overwhelming majority--the working people of this country whose labours, heritage and future are at stake. There is no other way.

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Left Caucus Newsletter

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Reforming the Senate?

By Gord Doctorow

When the "Fathers of Confederation" established the Senate in 1867, they were very candid about what this body represented — an institution to protect the interests of the privileged wealthy and powerful minority that ruled Canada. Although later labeled as the body of "sobre second thought", the real role of the Senate was to provide the wealthy élite with a veto power against the democratically elected House of Commons, should this plebeian body rashly decide to pass legislation unfavorable to the interests of this élite.

The Senate has never been an elected body. It has always been filled by patronage appointments of the ruling party in government. This has permitted Liberal and Conservative governments to establish control of the "upper chamber" as a means of controlling the legislative process. For example, the voluminous Senate appointments by the retiring Prime Minister Trudeau established a Liberal majority which have acted to frustrate the Mulroney Conservatives in government. Of course, Mulroney appointed his own cabal consisting of such Tory stalwarts as multi-millionaire businessman Trevor Eyton and disgraced former Tory Premier of Nova Scotia, John Buchanan, in order to shift the balance to allow the Tories to pass their GST legislation.

In effect, the Senate Chamber has become an ancillary battleground of the two Big Business parties which, in addition to paying out public dollars for handsome salaries, exquisite pensions, and various commissions, duplicates the work of the House of Commons. In fact, the bodies are so intricately linked through party connections, that there have been instances of Cabinet posts being occupied by unelected senators in governments that ostensibly are accountable to the people.

Now the talk is about an elected Senate. This has been raised not only by the Triple-E Tories but also by some prominent New Democrats. The unquestioned assumption in either case is that we need and can continue to afford a bi-cameral body. It seems strange that such an expense can be justified as we hear daily news of the shutdowns of retail and manufacturing operations and literally thousands of workers being cast into the scrapheap of unemployment and welfare. Our own Ontario NDP government is implementing cutbacks to hospitals and schools and yet there is talk of sustaining an upper body which duplicates the functions of the House of Commons, which most Canadians consider is working quite badly.

that it will give more equitable representation to the various regions of the country? Most Canadians find the idea of equal numbers of representatives for provinces like Ontario and Alberta or, say, Prince Edward Island as being an additional absurdity heaped on the current absurdity of what the Senate does. Should we be seduced by the notion that we could have a Senate which has equal representation by women and men? But equal representation for what?

In my view, if there was a case to be made for a renewed Senate, it would have to be fundamentally different from the current body in terms of giving adequate voice to those who are not currently served by the system and in terms of providing functions which are both independent of the Commons and functioning in a different and valuable way. For example, we might consider a Senate which is populated by the following groups in proportion to their representation to the Canadian population: women, First Nations, disabled persons, people of color, gays and lesbians. The principle here would be to ensure social justice by effective representation. The choosing of such representatives ought to be done by democratically elected constituent assemblies in a manner to be determined by consultation with the relevant parties. The resulting Senate should have powers and responsibilities which are germane to achieving social equality. For example, legislative matters that concern the limitations or expansions of the rights of these groups should be subject to veto, amendment, scrutiny, and input by these groups.

Alternatively, we could fall back to the NDP/CCF's longstanding position about the Senate and call for its simple abolition. To address the issue of adequate and equitable representation, constitutional reform could take place in the shape of changing the way the House of Commons is elected. For example, instead of continuing with the current electoral boundaries, ridings could be made smaller so that more ridings would come into existence. This would mean that candidates for office would be running more affordable campaigns and would be much closer to the individual constituents. It would also allow for a new representation arrangement to fill the extra seats — one in which guaranteed proportions of the above-mentioned underrepresented groups could be implemented.

In conclusion, I believe that we need to jettison the élitist Senate of the past and move towards a more representative democracy which reflects the needs of those who are currently disempowered and underrepresented by the priorities of Canada's capitalist governmental arrangements.

PANEL DISCUSSION ON THE CONSTITUTIONAL REFERENDUM

HOW CAN WE VOTE YES?

**EARTH SCIENCES CENTRE, U OF T
5 BANCROFT, ROOM B142 (BASEMENT LEVEL)**

**5:00 P.M - 7:00 P.M
(following adjournment of Provincial Council
Meeting)**

SPEAKERS

Janet Maher — National Action Committee on the Status of Women

John Clarke — Ontario Coalition Against Poverty

Harry Kopyto — ONDP Left Caucus

QUESTIONS AND DISCUSSION

Sponsored by the Left Caucus of the ONDP

QUEBEC, SELF-DETERMINATION AND THE NDP

WHY SOCIALISTS SHOULD REJECT THE CONSTITUTIONAL DEAL

Featuring Richard Fidler, author of *Quebec, Adieu* (Ottawa-Hull political commentator)

- Friday, October 9, 8:00 pm.

**Hart House
University of Toronto (St. George Campus)**

Room to be announced

**Open question and discussion period to
follow**

All Welcome

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For further information, call 322-5247**

(Found in Dec. 1992)

FROM THE ONDP LEFT CAUCUS

Dear Left Caucus Supporter,

We in the Left Caucus Steering Committee wish you a good Christmas season and an optimistic New Year. To help you usher in the new year with socialist solidarity enclosed you will find a leaflet announcing the Left Caucus New Year's Party (for a modest \$15).

We apologize for the long delay between Left Caucus mailings. However, it is not due to political lethargy that this has happened. We have been very busy attempting to intervene at different levels of the Party to bring a left perspective to bear with very limited forces. We have also had to face a serious shortage of funds. We invite you to help us out financially by sending in a donation to the ONDP Left Caucus together with a clip-out coupon from one of the enclosed documents.

The first document, *Discussion Needed*, was written for and distributed to the October Provincial Council meeting in Sudbury in response to the Rae government's dumping of the Party's program on public auto insurance. In that document, we discuss the broad implications of this retreat.

The second document, *Accountability*, was written for and distributed to the end-of-November Provincial Council meeting in Toronto. That meeting held a discussion on the whole question of accountability as a direct outcome of the successful organizing efforts of the left at the previous, Sudbury meeting. This document is an attempt to round out and concretize the discussion in the first document.

We hope you find these analyses useful and that you will reproduce them and circulate them among other left wingers in and around the NDP.

Best wishes and socialist solidarity,

ONDP Left Caucus Steering Committee

P.S. Please present the resolution on accountability on the other side of this page to your next riding association meeting with a direction to have it forwarded to Provincial Office to be voted on at the upcoming March Provincial Council Meeting. Notice of the resolution has to be received at least 30 days prior to the meeting, so act now!